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A Contribution to the Study of Value Orientations Among the Czechs and Slovaks (Full Text)

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A Contribution to the Study of Value Orientations
Among the Czechs and Slovaks

A CONTRIBUTION TO THE STUDY OF VALUE ORIENTATIONS

AMONG THE CZECHS AND SLOVAKS

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Amherst

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Preface

The present work is a data-oriented paper.* It makes available some of the basic information which I collected in the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic during the summer of 1969. I was fortunate in having, while there, the invaluable assistance of a number of Czech and Slovak scholars and, back in this country, the helpful suggestions of my American colleagues as I was readying the results for publication.

This report, the first of several which will proceed from the original field work, briefly surveys the major studies dealing with the Czech and/or Slovak national character (Section 1), provides a discussion of the instrument employed (Section 2), and presents an analysis of the basic data obtained in the field (Section 3).

It is my intention to follow up this paper with further studies. In particular, I would like to attempt to interpret the data in the light of earlier works on the subject and some additional materials (mentioned in Section 3.7) which have been traditionally used in this type of analysis. I hope that the final result of these efforts will be a better understanding of the national character and value orientations of my former countrymen.

Finally, I wish to acknowledge with gratitude the constant and effective help from my wife which I received in all stages of preparing this report.

1.1. Even as early as some of the writings of the ancient Greeks there is the implicit assumption that the body of personality characteristics shared by the members of any culturally distinct population is large enough to permit or even to justify generalizations. During the past four decades, this notion has been rather systematically explored by psychologically oriented anthropologists and scholars in related fields who have been concerned with "basic personality," "ethnic personality," "modal personality," "social personality," "cultural character," "social character," or "national character."¹ Most of these national character and culture-and-personality studies have been predicated on the assumption that culture-specific childhood experiences exert a profound and lasting effect upon an individual's personality, and the proponents of these studies have gone about gathering their evidence accordingly.

Another approach, designed to discover some of the major premises that more or less implicitly guide and regulate the conduct of the members of any culturally distinct population, is exemplified in studies dealing with "cultural value systems," "value orientations," "Weltanschauung," or "world view."²

While these two approaches, each with its own particular emphasis, employ somewhat different methods to achieve their stated goals, they nevertheless may be seen as jointly constituting a bridge between the traditional taxonomic and particularistic anthropological analysis on the one hand, and the cognitive formulations of the last decade on the other. In common with the latter, they eschew preoccupation with aspects of material culture and share a strong commitment to identify-

ing the principles which underlie the day-to-day choices that have to be made by the members of any society.

The construction of cultural value systems customarily involves two steps. The first consists of establishing a generous roster of culture-specific values (or disvalues), drawn--particularly for literate societies--from a variety of sources. The second step is an attempt to derive from these individual values a more limited number of postulates, or broadly generalized propositions, and to hypostatize these postulates in terms of associated corollaries.³ The present work makes a contribution to the first step.

1.2. Before 1918--except for the period of the Great Moravian Empire, from about A.D. 840 until the first decade of the tenth century, when the Magyars invaded from the southeast--the closely related Czech and Slovak peoples, although neighbors, went their separate ways. The socioeconomic and cultural differences between them, deriving from a full millennium of separation, came into focus after 1918 when the Czechs and Slovaks became the two principal ethnic components of the newly created Czechoslovak Republic. These differences, despite some past attempts to gloss them over, have persisted to the present day, their last expression being the federalization of the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic into the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic in 1969. Thus it is clearly indicated that any study of the world view of the Slavic population of Czechoslovakia should proceed from the assumption that value orientations of the Czechs and Slovaks are different.

Before discussing the results of my own explorations in the

field, a brief overview of the most important contributions toward an understanding of the Czech and Slovak national characters may be of interest.

In modern times, the rise of an intense interest in the history, literature, language, and character of the Czechs and Slovaks dates back to the early phase of the National Revival, around 1800. During the first half of the nineteenth century, Jan Kollár published his idealized characterization of the Slavs, basing it principally on his fellow Slovaks. T. G. Masaryk (1895) warned against the tendency to generalize and idealize in national character studies and contributed some interesting comparative observations on the Czechs and Germans.

Basing his analysis primarily on Josef Holeček's voluminous novelistic chronicle of the Bohemian South, Naši, Josef Karásek (1907) characterized the psychology of the Czech people, in summary, as follows: "...trustful like children, politically immature, lacking in social graces...little understanding what discipline is all about...brooding, carping, hardheaded, easily becoming enthusiastic about something but not always ready to follow up--in other words, lacking toughness and persistence...good and compassionate when not pigheaded...given to resignation in adversity..." (1907:49-51).

During the early part of this century, Czech national character (národní povaha) received repeated attention from the Czech sociologist Emanuel Chalupný, whose final and most comprehensive treatment of the subject appeared in 1935. Chalupný based his analysis on the Czech language, its stress pattern in particular, and affirmed a propensity for anticipation to be the fundamental feature of the Czech

national character. According to him, the Czechs typically expend a great deal of energy during the initial phases of an undertaking, after which slackness sets in, yielding imperfect or at best uneven results. The Slovak national character, Chalupný maintained, does not constitute a separate psychosocial complex, being but a regional variant of the type represented by the Czech national character. According to the author, the virtual identity of the two quite logically follows from the fact that Czech and Slovak share the same fundamental linguistic structure (stress pattern in particular [1935:210]).

Chalupný's contention that "language acts as a microscope by magnifying certain distinctive features of national character"⁴ is an intriguing notion which--had it been known in this country some twenty years ago--might have caught the interest of Whorf's followers. But today, Chalupný's sweeping thesis is impossible to accept: it offers so much that it contributes nothing.

A beginning toward a perceptive characterology of modern Czechs was made by the Czech publicist Ferdinand Peroutka (1924 and 1934). His book for the most part is a series of "polemics with several favorite notions concerning the Czech national character; [thus] it tends to show what we are not like. To show what we are really like should be the task of a future work" (1934: from the concluding statement).⁵ In Peroutka's opinion, the Czech national character is much more like the German than the Czechs themselves are ready to admit. He notes that the character of the "Central European citizenship has retained in its blood to this day [its] quiet and moderate origin" (1934:182) and that "our humanity [and] our peaceableness stem from

love for small and simple things" (1934:204).

Another serious analysis of the Czech character was attempted by Jiří Mahen (1924), a successful dramatist and newspaperman. The last chapter of his slender book provides a useful summary of his findings: "[Let us hope that] we have managed to identify certain characteristic features of the Czech temperament; these features, expressed in terms of both socially useful and socially useless or undesirable qualities, would roughly present the following portrait of a Czech:

A. A Czech is a man of sound and careful intellect.

He is capable of great ideas and has a sense for great things.

He is capable of idealistic enthusiasm and fervor.

Although slow, he is smart while keeping his 'balance.'

He is active--let us rejoice in this fact.

To a certain degree, he is capable of organizing work.

B. He has a wandering mind, does not persevere, and is given to exaggeration.

He has in him relatively little courage and is not very revolutionary.

His intelligence is very frequently hysterical.

In the arts, he is not particularly expressive and finds it hard to concentrate.

He dislikes ultimate questions.

In religious matters, he is lukewarm and seriously indifferent.

His social courage is not very deep.

He harbors a dark, destructive spirit.

He is a Hamlet rather than a Don Quixote.

He finds it difficult to overcome the centripetal forces
in him.

Rather than freeing himself through an internal struggle,
he relies on his cleverness" (1924:129).

The tragic end of Czechoslovak independence on the eve of World War II stimulated a learned essay on the Czech national character by the Czech art and literary critic František Kovárna (1939). Kovárna concentrated on two aspects of the historical posture of the Czechs--sobriety and pathos. According to him, the Czechs are fundamentally a sober people; expressions of pathos with them are largely limited to artistic activity. And he further noted that "our [Czech] character changes as one proceeds eastward and...the relationship of sobriety to pathos, too, changes in this same direction [i.e., as one moves toward Slovakia]" (1939:15).

Attempts to characterize the Slovak people as a whole have been less numerous. In a book dedicated to the Czechs and written expressly to help them better understand their fellow citizens in the eastern part of the new republic, the Slovak Anton Kompanek (1921) singled out the following dominant characteristics of his people: dovishness, humbleness, modesty, industriousness, religiousness, distrustfulness, tendency toward discord, backwardness despite an unusual amount of innate endowment, and a tendency toward alcoholism.

The most systematic attempt to assess the Slovak national character (národná povaha) was made by Anton Jurovský (1943), a Slovak

psychologist. His study appeared in Slovakia during World War II, under conditions anything but favorable to the publication of objective analyses in general and national character studies in particular. After a brief historical survey of the field, Jurovský defines "national character" as "that complex of spiritual traits to which every member of a national collectivity contributes and from which, in turn, he derives some of the specific features which characterize him and provide him with a higher sense of his existence" (1943:347).

According to Jurovský, national character should be conceived of as a dynamic process and defined in terms of several sets of factors. Most important among the internal factors contributing to the national character of the Slovak people, in his opinion, is their innate mental and temperamental endowment. He finds that the Slovaks possess adequate intellectual endowment and more than an average amount of sensitivity, expressiveness, excitability, sociability, sincerity, and vitality.

Jurovský further maintains that the external factors to which the Slovaks were subject are responsible for their sagacity, industry, and unpretentiousness. As a result of trying social and economic circumstances, they balanced a sense of inferiority⁶ with a propensity for gallantry and developed a marked degree of pensiveness. Among other traits, Jurovský lists envy, deeply rooted religiousness, and faith in ultimate justice. A stormy political history brought forth among the Slovaks a sense of national consciousness and a capacity for resistance--and also an individualism bordering on egotism and opportunism.

Next Jurovský discusses the Slovak national character from the beginning of its formation during the final decades of the eighteenth century. Two aspects of this process are singled out as especially significant--the intimate ties that developed between Slovak national consciousness and religion, and the enduring emotional value that became attached to the Slovak language as the unique mark of national identity.

I find certain aspects of Jurovský's study well taken, in particular, his conception of national character as a dynamic system. But the profile of the Slovak national character which finally emerges leaves a great deal to be desired. At best, it might be termed "a compassionate portrait of the Slovak social personality in the light of the past." Since Jurovský apparently did not draw on much empirical data, he seems to be projecting the history of the past two centuries into the personality of the Slovak people to such an extent that one wonders if the same unsurprising and rather liberal characterization might not have been arrived at by someone working in a well-supplied American library.⁷

In the volume dealing with the Czech and Slovak folk cultures (Lidová kultura), published in 1968 in the new series of Československá vlastivěda (Melicherčík [ed.] 1968), the subject of value orientations and national character remains virtually untouched.⁸ In this case, however, one must allow for the possibility that the brittle political circumstances under which this outstanding volume was being prepared made a discussion of this topic undesirable.⁹

It seems that the time has come to undertake a fresh study which would contribute to the definition of Czech and Slovak value orientations, and my field research in Czechoslovakia during the summer of 1969 has been intended as a step toward this goal. Partial results of the field trip constitute Sections 2 and 3 of this report. Section 2 deals with the questionnaire concerning the characteristics of the subjects (A) and with the instrument proper (B).¹⁰ Section 3 is devoted to the analysis of the data gathered in Questionnaires A and B.

2.A.1. The following is the full English text of Questionnaire A:

1. Sex ☐ M ☐ F 2. Age _____ 3. Mother tongue _____

4. Place of birth according to size of community

☐ under 2,000 ☐ 2,000 to 99,999 ☐ 100,000 and above

and according to region

☐ Prague

☐ Central Bohemian

☐ South Moravian

☐ South Bohemian

☐ North Moravian

☐ West Bohemian

☐ western Slovakia

☐ North Bohemian

☐ central Slovakia

☐ East Bohemian

☐ eastern Slovakia

5. Place of present residence _____

6. Educational background

☐ basic

☐ with Abitur

☐ further, without Abitur

☐ college or university

7. Present occupation (specifically) _____

8. Occupation for which trained _____

9. Marital status

☐ single

☐ married

☐ divorced

☐ widowed

10. Significant absences from home

studies _____ location _____ length (in yrs.) _____

abroad _____ location _____ length (in yrs.) _____

job _____ location _____ length (in yrs.) _____

others (specify) _____ location _____ length (in yrs.) _____

11. Number of siblings _____

12. Spouse's mother tongue _____ 13. Number of children _____

14. Father's mother tongue _____ 15. Mother's mother tongue _____

2.A.2. The following comments serve to elucidate Questionnaire A. No. 2, the age of the subject, has been coded for the purposes of the analysis in terms of four age ranges--18 to 24, 25 to 39, 40 to 59, and sixty years and above--for which up-to-date statistical information is available. Administration of the schedule was limited to subjects eighteen years old or older under the assumption that value orientations do not become fully established until an individual has reached the upper teens, when he is faced with a choice of a more or less permanent occupation or field of study and when his dependence upon his parents has become a matter of choice rather than necessity.

Nos. 3, 12, 14, and 15 are designed to establish the nationality of the subject and that of his spouse and parents, all of whom are likely to affect most profoundly his personal value system. In a country such as Czechoslovakia, where ethnic minorities have always been sizable (Germans, Magyars, Poles, and Gypsies), shifting political fortunes of the last fifty years have made mother tongue a more reliable criterion than nationality.

In No. 4, the six categories used by the Institute for Public Opinion Research of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění [ÚVVM] ČSAV) for coding communities according to their size have been lumped into three, corresponding to rural setting (population under 2,000), small and medium towns (2,000 to 99,999), and urban and metropolitan concentrations (100,000 and above). The categories for origin by region follow the administrative division of the country. At the beginning of 1969, when Czechoslovakia became federalized, the three administrative regions of Slovakia were abolished;

this is reflected in the phrasing of the questionnaire.

No. 6 likewise follows the polling practices of the ÚVVM (only about 0.6 percent of the adult population are estimated to have been without formal education by the end of 1968).

Following somewhat more loosely the practices of the ÚVVM, No. 7 has been coded for the purposes of the analysis in terms of six categories: workers; those engaged in agriculture (members of agricultural cooperatives [JZD] and a small number of independent farmers); other employees (among them, for example, shop assistants, teachers, foremen, and craftsmen); and all others, subsuming housewives, students and apprentices, and pensioners. No. 8 was included because the negative correlation between the nature of occupation and vocational training appears to be very high in contemporary Czechoslovakia.

2.B.1. The following is the full English text of Questionnaire B:

The purpose of this inquiry is to determine the ways in which various individuals look at human nature, man's relationship to nature, man's relationship to other men, his mode of relating to the world about him, his feelings about child rearing, and other such general concerns. Below and on the following pages you will find pairs of statements, separated by a five-step scale. The following instructions explain how to use these scales.

If you feel that you agree completely with either the statement at the left or the statement at the right you should place your check mark as follows:

statement X : ____ : ____ : ____ : ____ statement
 statement ____ : ____ : or : ____ : X statement

If you feel that, although you do not agree completely, you lean more toward the statement at the left than toward the one at the right, or conversely, place your check mark as follows:

statement ____ : X : ____ : ____ : ____ statement
 statement ____ : ____ : or : X : ____ statement

If you agree with neither statement, or if your feelings are ambivalent and you are not sure which you lean toward, place your check mark in the middle space:

statement ____ : ____ : X : ____ : ____ statement

IMPORTANT:

(1) Place your check marks in the middle of spaces, not on the boundaries:

statement ____ : ^{like this} X : ____ : ^{not this} X ____ statement

(2) Be sure you check every scale for every pair of statements--do not omit any.

(3) Never put more than one check mark on a single scale.

Do not look back and forth through the items. Do not try to remember how you checked similar items earlier. Make a separate, careful, and independent judgment for each item. And remember: always record your own personal choice and not that of your friends or that which others consider appropriate.

Sample Questions

- A. The best way to spend one's leisure time is to read a magazine or good book, or watch television. ____:____:____:____:____
- B. Very mild foods are the most desirable sort. ____:____:____:____:____
- C. Questionnaires are generally a waste of time and reveal little more than what is already known. ____:____:____:____:____

The best way to spend one's leisure time is to engage actively in some sport.

Well-spiced, hotly seasoned foods are the most desirable sort.

An effective way of finding out what a group of people really think is to ask a representative sample of them some well-designed questions and hope they will answer them with care and thought.

Questions

1. The ways of the past have proven good down through the years, and they give a feeling of permanence to human existence. ____:____:____:____:____
2. Man has never been able to control rain, wind, floods, and other things in nature and most likely he never will. One must learn to take whatever comes and do the best he can. ____:____:____:____:____
3. What is important in life is to accomplish something--to work and see the results of one's efforts. ____:____:____:____:____

We should always be looking for new and better ways of doing things and not be content with the ways that we have become used to.

Someday man will be able to control weather and other things in nature. Once man has the means, he can be expected to overcome such dangers as droughts and floods.

It is better to have time for thinking and for enjoying life than always to be setting new goals for oneself.

4. It is usually expected that each family (husband, wife, and children) will look after its own business and not be responsible to or for others outside the immediate family group. ____:____:____:____:____

It is usually expected that a young couple will ask advice of any of their parents who are still living before making really important decisions.

5. Children should not expect to be better off than their parents have been. They will do well if they learn to keep things going along in the same way as things have gone in the past. ____:____:____:____:____

Children should know the ways of the past that are still useful, but they must also learn new ways that will help them to get along in the world as it is today.

6. If a group is to send a representative to a meeting of some sort, the best way to select the representative is for everyone to discuss the matter, suggest names from among them, vote on the names, and then send the person who receives the most votes. ____:____:____:____:____

If a group is to send a representative to a meeting, the choosing of the representative should be done by the older, more experienced leaders of the group, who are best able to decide on the proper person to send.

7. Rules for doing things are helpful. They make things go more smoothly and following them gives one a sense of direction and satisfaction. ____:____:____:____:____

Rules are a barrier to being creative and expressing oneself. Thus they are likely to cause frustration rather than satisfaction.

8. Even though there may be special circumstances requiring women to go to work to better the standard of family living, the proper place for a woman is in the home, bringing up children and maintaining an orderly household. ____:____:____:____:____

Except for special circumstances surrounding the birth of a child, the woman's place in today's society is beside the man--in industry, business, agriculture, and the professions.

- | | | |
|---|------------|--|
| 9. One of the duties of parents is to keep children within proper bounds; otherwise, children will be quick to take advantage of the situation and will soon do as they please. | _:_:_:_:_: | All children rebel at times against parental authority. One should not become upset when such situations occur because this is the way young people gain their independence of spirit. |
| 10. Nations, like people, can take the wrong course at times. At no time, however, should one withdraw his full support from his homeland. | _:_:_:_:_: | One's first obligation is to humanity; his obligation to his own country comes second. |
| 11. If one wants to do something about a situation which affects both him and his neighbors, it is best to get the support of the whole neighborhood before doing anything. | _:_:_:_:_: | Trying to bring about group action can take so much time and be so frustrating that one should always first try acting on his own. |
| 12. When children have no respect for the past and the ways of their elders, things go wrong in the world. | _:_:_:_:_: | Children should be taught to look for new and better ways of doing things. They should not be content with the old ways. |
| 13. In growing crops, a farmer's best course is to make good use of local experience with weather and soil, and so work with nature to produce good crops. | _:_:_:_:_: | After putting in crops, a farmer should spend much time on their care and make use of all the scientific methods he can learn about. By so doing he can hope to offset the effects of poor conditions. |
| 14. Cleanliness and neatness are certainly necessary if one expects to live "the good life." | _:_:_:_:_: | Cleanliness and neatness have little or no connection with whether or not one is living "the good life." |

15. In bringing up children, it is necessary to point out all of their shortcomings so that they can work to overcome them. Praise is likely to make them so satisfied with themselves that they do not work to become better.

____:____:____:____:____

In bringing up children, the best way to help them to develop is to praise them whenever possible and criticize only when absolutely necessary.

16. An industrial undertaking will operate well if it is run by a person whose authority is based on long experience.

____:____:____:____:____

An industrial undertaking works well if all those who have a stake in the undertaking share equally in all important decisions.

17. When one is up against an unfamiliar problem, the best thing to do is to tackle it at once, and then change one's approach as one goes along if it seems advisable.

____:____:____:____:____

When one is up against an unfamiliar problem, the wise thing to do is first to consider the consequences for each of the methods which might be used for solving it.

18. Because modern life is so crowded with uncertainties, one should make every effort to live so as to enjoy every minute to the fullest.

____:____:____:____:____

An individual's continuing development as a person is what is most important. Therefore one should strive for personal growth even at the price of more immediate enjoyment.

19. People everywhere are basically good, and once they are given decent living conditions and decent education, it should be possible to have lasting peace and brotherhood.

____:____:____:____:____

History shows that men cannot achieve lasting goodness and brotherhood. While some few individuals stand out because of their unselfishness, mankind as a whole is doomed to envy and violence.

20. In a new situation, the first need is to discover the rules that apply so that one can follow them.

____:____:____:____:____

In a new situation, one can be glad that he does not know the rules for the usual acceptable behavior and therefore is free to follow any course he thinks good.

21. Since the past is gone and the future never certain, the best thing is to give all one's attention to the present.

____:____:____:____:____

Although sometimes there are setbacks, changes generally work out for the better. Therefore one should look ahead, work hard, and give up some things now so that the future can be better.

22. The universe is too complex to be fully understood. All man can do is accept whatever comes.

____:____:____:____:____

The universe is basically orderly and is governed by natural laws. Man should try to discover these laws in order to work in partnership with nature.

23. Discipline is good, but it should be self-discipline and not come from an outside authority.

____:____:____:____:____

Discipline is good, and since most people do not have enough self-discipline, discipline should be imposed by some acceptable authority.

24. Even though it may pay less, a good job is one that offers an individual the opportunity to become a well-rounded person.

____:____:____:____:____

A good job is one which pays well and also gives a person the opportunity to attract attention to his capabilities and to rapidly take on increasing responsibility.

25. What really counts in life is love and the spiritual values.

____:____:____:____:____

In the end, what is really important is practical accomplishment, wise use of power, and the accumulation of enough material goods to assure reasonable comfort.

26. Since one can always trust the values which have been tested in the past and handed down, one's main aim should be to see to it that these values are preserved.

___:___:___:___:___

Since the old ways were for another time, and many of the new ways have not yet proved themselves, the sensible thing is to follow whatever seems best now and let the future take care of itself.

27. One should not embarrass others by criticizing their ways, even in the spirit of being helpful; it is better to set them an example by one's own behavior.

___:___:___:___:___

People in general are eager to do better and are willing to accept well-meaning criticism or correction.

28. The best way to react in a crisis situation is to keep one's emotions to oneself.

___:___:___:___:___

In a crisis situation, it is good to relieve one's feelings by giving expression to one's emotions--of excitement, anger, etc.

29. Men are basically equal. Differences in social status are due primarily to differences in education.

___:___:___:___:___

Differences in social status are due primarily to variations in inborn abilities.

30. If a young couple with several small children and no parents still living found themselves in a crisis situation, the best place for them to turn for help would be to brothers or sisters or other relatives of their generation.

___:___:___:___:___

The best place for a young couple with several small children and no parents still living to turn for help in a crisis situation would be to their own close friends.

31. When one has a very special reason to celebrate or to show generosity, he can be excused for spending more than he can afford. ____:____:____:____:____
No matter what the occasion, it is never good to go into debt by spending more than one can really afford.
32. Sincerity is contagious; the best way to make good friends and get along with everyone is to be completely open and sincere. ____:____:____:____:____
Men are basically envious and out for their own interests; to protect oneself, one should keep things to himself.
33. Belief in God and a firm commitment to the teachings of one's church are no less important today than they were in the past. ____:____:____:____:____
In an advanced society with a scientific outlook on man and the universe, belief in God belongs to superstition.
34. One has to accept the fact that the pressure of living is such that to relax and take things as they come puts a man at a disadvantage. ____:____:____:____:____
The best way to keep one's sanity is to cultivate a sense of humor and easygoingness.

2.B.2. The thirty-four pairs of statements comprising the schedule of Questionnaire B were designed to elicit measurable responses from the Czechs and the Slovaks concerning some of their value orientations. The potential battery of testing items necessary to probe the ethos of a people in full would assume formidable proportions and greatly exceed the limited selection employed for this study. Furthermore, for cultures with long literary traditions, like those of the Czechs and Slovaks, complementary means of investigating value orientations are available, and these will be employed subsequently as a sequel to the questionnaire survey. This report is therefore to be viewed as an account of the results of an exploratory study, a virtue of which is the relatively large amount of easily analyzable fresh data obtained within a relatively short time that can serve as a means of identifying those specific areas in a system of cultural values which require further examination.

In its construction, the instrument draws in part on earlier studies by Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961) and by Kluckhohn (1956), but departs from them in a number of significant aspects. Instead of the ternary matrix of the former or the binary scheme of the latter, it uses a five-step scale to set apart contrasting though not necessarily antithetical statements. This arrangement not only permits the subjects to discriminate between full agreement and predisposition toward a particular statement, but also to record ambivalence with respect to any particular pair of statements--a

circumstance that may arise when value systems are undergoing a rapid change or a critical test.

The overall range of inquiry has been extended beyond the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck repertory of five basic common human problems (orientations concerning human nature, man vis-à-vis nature, time, activity, and man vis-à-vis other men), and the Kluckhohn repertory of three clusters of cultural value-emphases (those of man and nature, man and man, and both nature and man).¹¹ The statements of the schedule, couched in simple, direct language, have been formulated in such a manner as to minimize automatic or predictable ("right") assignments of values along the scales.¹² Even though the questionnaire was prepared with a particular application in mind, most of the statements are equally employable in value-orientation studies of other societies; some are not.¹³

Pairs of statements (henceforth referred to simply as "items") numbered 1, 5, 12, and 21 derive from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck range of variations in the time orientation (1961:13-5 and elsewhere) and are designed to elicit Czech and Slovak attitudes with respect to this range. The three pivotal points along this range are (a) orientation toward the past, (b) orientation toward the present, and (c) orientation toward the future.¹⁴ The contents of the items are as follows: Items 1 and 12--past as against future;¹⁵ Item 5--past as against present; and Item 21--present as against future.

Items 2, 13, and 22 derive from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck range of variations in the man-nature orientation (1961:13 and elsewhere)

and are designed to elicit Czech and Slovak attitudes with respect to this range. The three cardinal points along this range are (a) man accepting a subject-to-nature relationship, (b) man believing his best course to be working harmoniously with nature, and (c) man aspiring to control nature and believing that eventually he can. The contents of the items are as follows: Item 2--subject to nature as against mastering nature; Item 13--in harmony with nature as against mastering nature; and Item 22--subject to nature as against in harmony with nature.

Items 3, 18, and 24 derive from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck range of variations in the activity orientation (1961:15-7 and elsewhere) and are designed to elicit Czech and Slovak attitudes with respect to this range. The three critical points along this range are (a) orientation toward being, (b) orientation toward being-in-becoming,¹⁶ and (c) orientation toward doing. The contents of the items are as follows: Item 3--doing as against being; Item 18--being as against being-in-becoming; and Item 24--being-in-becoming as against doing.

Items 4, 6, 11, and 16 derive from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck range of variations in the relational orientation (1961:17-9 and elsewhere) and are designed to elicit Czech and Slovak attitudes with respect to this range. The three pivotal points along this range are (a) lineality, (b) collaterality, and (c) individualism.¹⁷ The contents of the items are as follows: Items 4 and 6--individualism as against lineality (more specifically, the nature of relational orientation in the context of a kin group [Item 4] or of an interest group [Item 6]); Item 11--collaterality as against individualism;

and Item 16--lineality as against collaterality.

Items 7 and 20 pose a choice between an orderly approach and a spontaneous, creative approach to doing things.

Item 8 probes the attitude toward what is thought to be the proper place for a woman in the society: at home caring for the children and running the household or at work beside the man.

Item 9 seeks to establish whether in rearing children, value is placed on sustained parental authority or on the children's independence of spirit.

Item 10 poses a choice between a nationalistic outlook as against a supranational outlook when fundamental loyalties are put to test.

Item 14 queries whether cleanliness is an intrinsic ethical value or an extrinsic one.

Item 15 seeks to establish whether in rearing children, stress is placed on criticism rather than praise or on praise rather than criticism.

Item 17 poses a choice between a pragmatic (practical, mechanistic) approach and a theoretical (mentalistic) approach to solving problems.

Item 19 derives from the Kluckhohn-Strodtbeck range of variations in the human nature orientation (1961:11-2 and elsewhere) and is designed to elicit Czech and Slovak attitudes with respect to this range. Here I have modified the three-point range with its further subdivisions to a binary choice between good and evil.

Item 23 seeks to determine whether preference is given to discipline imposed from within or to acceptable discipline imposed from

without.

Item 25 contrasts an idealistic outlook on life with a materialistic one.

Item 26 seeks to determine whether ethical values are to be considered absolute or whether it is felt that the great changes occurring in a modern society make so-called situational ethics the only practicable course.

Item 27 probes the attitude toward well-meaning criticism: whether it is considered embarrassing (hurtful) or whether it is appreciated.

Item 28 seeks to establish whether in a crisis situation preference is given to the desirability of containing one's emotions or of expressing them.

Item 29 attempts to elicit an explanation of differences in social status: whether they are to be ascribed to educational background or to innate capability.

Item 30 seeks to determine whether in a crisis situation--when parents are no longer living--preference is for turning for help to relatives of the same generation rather than to close friends.

Item 31 poses a choice between generosity as opposed to thriftiness as a valued personality trait.

Item 32 queries whether human nature is viewed with trust or with suspicion.

Item 33 contrasts the traditional religious belief with a materialistic (scientific) outlook.

Item 34 is based on the tense-relaxed contrast of Kluckhohn (1956:124): it attempts to establish whether the tense life-style increasingly demanded in modern times must be accepted or whether a relaxed life-style can be cultivated.

TABLE 1

Characteristics of Subjects Studied		Sample Studied		Czecho-slovakia	Sample Studied: Czechs		Czech Socialist Republic	Sample Studied: Slovaks		Slovak Socialist Republic
		Number of Subjects	Per-centage	Per-centage	Number of Subjects	Per-centage	Per-centage	Number of Subjects	Per-centage	Per-centage
1. Sex	1.1. Male	192	47.64	47.8	112	46.28	47.5	79	50.32	48.6
	1.2. Female	211	52.36	52.2	130	53.72	52.5	78	49.68	51.4
2. Age (in years)	2.1. 18--24	92	22.83	16.4	52	21.49	16.4	40	25.48	16.9
	2.2. 25--39	137	34.00	27.2	86	35.54	25.9	51	32.48	29.7
	2.3. 40--59	130	32.26	33.6	78	32.23	33.8	50	31.85	33.3
	2.4. 60 and above	43	10.67	22.8	25	10.33	23.9	16	10.19	20.1
	not given	1	0.25		1	0.41				
3. Mother tongue	3.1. Czech	242	60.05	64.8						
	3.2. Slovak	157	38.96	29.4						
	3.3. other	4	0.99	3.9						
4. Place of birth according to size of community	4.1. under 2,000	156	38.71	68.8	83	34.30		72	45.86	
	4.2. 2,000 to 99,999	160	39.70	31.2	85	35.12		73	46.50	
	4.3. 100,000 and above	66	16.38	3.9	54	22.31		11	7.01	
	not given	21	5.21	1.8	20	8.26		1	0.64	
				[oth.]						
5. Place of birth according to region	5.1. Prague	47	11.66		47	19.42				
	5.2. Central Bohemian	35	8.68		35	14.46				
	5.3. South Bohemian	28	6.95		28	11.57				
	5.4. West Bohemian	46	11.41		45	18.60		1	0.64	
	5.5. North Bohemian	8	1.99		8	3.31				
	5.6. East Bohemian	40	9.93		40	16.53				
	5.7. South Moravian	8	1.99		8	3.31				
	5.8. North Moravian	9	2.23		9	3.72				
	5.9. western Slovakia	64	15.88		1	0.41		61	38.85	
	5.10. central Slovakia	82	20.35					81	51.59	
	5.11. eastern Slovakia	14	3.47		2	0.83		11	7.01	
	not given	22	5.46		19	7.85		3	1.91	

TABLE 2

Characteristics of Subjects Studied		Sample Studied		Czecho-slovakia	Sample Studied: Czechs		Czech Socialist Republic	Sample Studied: Slovaks		Slovak Socialist Republic
		Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage	Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage	Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage
6. Educational background	6.1. basic	102	25.31	76.1	51	21.07		50	31.85	
	6.2. further, without Abitur	80	19.85	6.8	49	20.25		30	19.11	
	6.3. with Abitur	110	27.30	13.2	62	25.62		46	29.30	
	6.4. college or univ. not given	94	23.33	3.3	63	26.03		31	19.75	
		17	4.22		17	7.02				
7. Present occupation	7.1. worker	48	11.91	34.3	31	12.81	35.6	16	10.19	30.8
	7.2. in agriculture	37	9.18	11.5	21	8.68	10.0	16	10.19	15.4
	7.3. other employee	212	52.61	19.7	130	53.72	21.0	82	52.23	16.2
	7.4. housewife	16	3.97	15.1	7	2.89	13.0	8	5.10	20.4
	7.5. student or apprentice	37	9.18	0.8	17	7.02	0.7	20	12.74	0.8
	7.6 pensioner not given	38	9.43	16.8	21	8.68	17.9	15	9.55	14.1
8. Marital status		15	3.72		15	6.20				
	8.1. single	107	26.55		59	24.38		48	30.57	
	8.2. divorced	9	2.23		8	3.31		1	0.64	
	8.3. married	252	62.53		149	61.57		102	64.97	
	8.4. widowed not given	20	4.96		11	4.55		6	3.82	
9. Number of siblings		15	3.72		15	6.20				
	9.1. 1	116	28.78		80	33.06		36	22.93	
	9.2. 2	81	20.10		51	21.07		30	19.11	
	9.3. 3	51	12.66		23	9.50		25	15.92	
	9.4. 4	35	8.68		14	5.79		20	12.74	
	9.5. 5	21	5.21		8	3.31		13	8.28	
	9.6. 6	8	1.99		3	1.24		5	3.18	
	9.7. 7	4	0.99		2	0.83		2	1.27	
	9.8. 8	7	1.74		2	0.83		5	3.18	
	9.9. 9 or more	5	1.24		2	0.83		3	1.91	
	none (or not given)	75	18.61		57	23.55		18	11.46	

TABLE 3

Characteristics of Subjects Studied		Sample Studied		Czecho-slovakia	Sample Studied: Czechs		Czech Socialist Republic	Sample Studied: Slovaks		Slovak Socialist Republic
		Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage	Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage	Number of Subjects	Percentage	Percentage
10. Spouse's mother tongue	10.1. same	261	64.76		156	64.46		103	65.61	
	10.2. other	9	2.23		3	1.24		4	2.55	
	not applicable (or not given)	133	33.00		83	34.30		50	31.85	
11. Number of children	11.1. 1	69	17.12		45	18.60		24	15.29	
	11.2. 2	100	24.81		59	24.38		40	25.48	
	11.3. 3	43	10.67		24	9.92		17	10.83	
	11.4. 4	16	3.97		4	1.65		12	7.64	
	11.5. 5	4	0.99		3	1.24		1	0.64	
	11.6. 6	4	0.99		1	0.41		2	1.27	
	11.7. 7									
	11.8. 8	1	0.25		1	0.41				
	none (or not given)	166	41.19		105	43.39		61	38.85	
12. Father's mother tongue	12.1. same	363	90.07		213	88.02		148	94.27	
	12.2. other	13	3.23		6	2.48		5	3.18	
	not given	27	6.70		23	9.50		4	2.55	
13. Mother's mother tongue	13.1. same	371	92.06		222	91.74		146	92.99	
	13.2. other	14	3.47		4	1.65		9	5.73	
	not given	18	4.47		16	6.61		2	1.27	

3.1. The sample for which responses were obtained consisted of 403 subjects, of whom 399 listed their mother tongue as Czech or Slovak. Considering the delicate political atmosphere prevailing in the country at the time of my research, special effort was made to select subjects sine ira et studio, even though the questionnaire was scrupulously apolitical. Because the amount of time available for the study was limited, it was not possible to secure a sample which conformed exactly to the characteristics of the country's adult population: it is thus a nonprobability sample. The extent of its bias may be seen from Tables 1 through 3.¹⁸

The sample fares best with respect to sex, where it nearly matches the actual proportions. In the category of age, the sample favors the 18-to-24 and 25-to-39 ranges, approximates the 40-to-59 range, and underrepresents the sixty-year-old and older by about one half. For the Czechs, the sample draws primarily on Bohemia at the expense of Moravia. Concerning the educational background of the subjects, those with an education going beyond the basic required course of study are heavily favored, though not quite as much in the Czech Socialist Republic as it appears from the figures for Czechoslovakia as a whole, since these figures reflect the significantly lower educational background of the older population in the Slovak Socialist Republic. The bias of the sample in the category of present occupation is by far not as pronounced as the figures would seem to indicate. Not only are some of the categories for which figures were available insufficiently discriminating (in particular, cate-

gories 7.1-7.3), but the tendency of many to seek white-collar employment, and for others to be classified as "workers" by virtue of their assigned jobs, makes the categories much less meaningful than one would expect. The sample on which this study is based may thus be defined as best representing the white-collar population with well-above-average education between the ages of 18 and about fifty (that is, those born or brought up between the end of World War I and the early fifties).

One caution cannot be overemphasized: the results given below must not be taken as a gratuitous attempt to offer an overall characterization of the Czech and the Slovak peoples. The analysis implies no other claims than those justified by the size and bias of the sample; accordingly, the terms "Czech(s)" and "Slovak(s)" must be considered in that context.

3.2. In Table 4, the first set of five columns gives the response frequencies (in percentages) for the Czechs (C) and Slovaks (S) to the thirty-four items of the schedule (small discrepancies in the percentage totals reflect the fact that occasionally a subject did not check every scale). From left to right, the five columns correspond to the five spaces of each scale. The second set of five columns, similarly arranged, ranks the values of the response frequencies. The index of dissimilarity is given in the last column of the table.¹⁹

TABLE 4

Item	Response Frequencies (Percentages)					Rank Orders					Index of Diss.	
No.		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5	
1	C	4.13	4.55	13.22	16.12	59.50	5	4	3	2	1	13.78
	S	17.20	5.10	12.74	17.20	47.13	2-3	5	4	2-3	1	
2	C	17.77	10.33	13.22	26.03	31.40	3	5	4	2	1	10.08
	S	26.75	10.19	12.10	17.83	33.12	2	5	4	3	1	
3	C	59.50	14.88	11.98	7.44	5.79	1	2	3	4	5	8.45
	S	68.15	10.83	10.83	4.46	5.73	1	2-3	2-3	5	4	
4	C	19.42	11.98	14.46	27.69	25.62	3	5	4	1	2	19.83
	S	17.83	10.19	12.10	14.01	45.86	2	5	4	3	1	
5	C	2.48	2.48	2.48	6.61	85.95	3-5	3-5	3-5	2	1	9.21
	S	5.10	2.55	8.28	7.01	76.43	4	5	2	3	1	
6	C	43.39	11.98	9.92	10.74	23.97	1	3	5	4	2	7.83
	S	39.49	8.92	10.83	9.55	30.57	1	5	3	4	2	
7	C	21.07	18.60	23.97	18.18	17.36	2	3	1	4	5	17.81
	S	15.29	13.38	28.66	11.46	30.57	3	4	2	5	1	
8	C	41.74	17.36	10.33	11.98	17.77	1	3	5	4	2	8.42
	S	42.04	11.46	14.01	9.55	22.29	1	4	3	5	2	
9	C	23.14	12.40	13.22	18.18	32.23	2	5	4	3	1	15.95
	S	34.39	17.20	12.74	15.29	19.75	1	3	5	4	2	
10	C	16.12	4.96	11.98	15.70	49.59	2	5	4	3	1	7.91
	S	10.19	5.73	10.83	21.02	52.23	4	5	3	2	1	
11	C	56.20	17.77	10.74	8.68	5.37	1	2	3	4	5	5.69
	S	62.42	16.56	10.83	5.10	5.10	1	2	3	4-5	4-5	

TABLE 4

Item No.	Response Frequencies (Percentages)					Rank Orders					Index of Diss.	
		1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4		5
12	C	7.85	4.13	12.81	23.14	50.83	4	5	3	2	1	14.72
	S	18.47	6.37	15.29	17.83	42.04	2	5	4	3	1	
13	C	17.36	9.92	21.90	23.97	25.62	4	5	3	2	1	17.87
	S	26.11	9.55	14.65	14.01	35.03	2	5	3	4	1	
14	C	56.61	18.18	6.20	10.74	7.44	1	2	5	3	4	12.77
	S	59.87	8.92	14.01	7.01	8.92	1	3-4	2	5	3-4	
15	C	42.98	22.31	14.88	10.33	9.50	1	2	3	4	5	15.38
	S	47.13	13.38	26.11	7.01	6.37	1	3	2	4	5	
16	C	35.95	18.18	20.25	6.20	19.42	1	4	2	5	3	23.43
	S	24.20	12.74	14.01	10.83	38.22	2	4	3	5	1	
17	C	2.48	5.79	4.96	16.12	69.42	5	3	4	2	1	4.50
	S	3.82	1.91	8.28	16.56	69.43	4	5	3	2	1	
18	C	12.81	9.50	11.98	19.42	46.28	3	5	4	2	1	3.93
	S	13.38	9.55	15.29	16.56	45.22	4	5	3	2	1	
19	C	22.73	17.77	20.25	17.77	20.66	1	4-5	3	4-5	2	10.11
	S	30.57	17.83	19.11	20.38	12.10	1	4	3	2	5	
20	C	22.73	25.21	13.64	19.42	18.60	2	1	5	3	4	20.76
	S	36.31	15.92	21.02	10.19	16.56	1	4	2	5	3	
21	C	21.49	13.64	14.46	21.07	27.27	2	5	4	3	1	8.20
	S	20.38	11.46	14.65	17.20	36.31	2	5	4	3	1	
22	C	3.31	4.13	8.26	16.53	66.53	5	4	3	2	1	13.90
	S	17.83	2.55	6.37	13.38	59.87	2	5	4	3	1	
23	C	55.37	11.98	9.50	9.09	13.22	1	3	4	5	2	6.74
	S	50.96	10.83	8.92	8.92	20.38	1	3	4-5	4-5	2	

TABLE 4

TABLE 4												
Item	Response Frequencies (Percentages)					Rank Orders					Index of Diss.	
No.	1	2	3	4	5	1	2	3	4	5		
24	C	29.75	20.66	8.68	14.05	26.03	1	3	5	4	2	22.21
	S	18.47	10.19	14.65	14.01	42.68	2	5	3	4	1	
25	C	45.04	24.38	14.05	8.68	6.20	1	2	3	4	5	14.41
	S	55.41	11.46	13.38	9.55	10.19	1	3	2	5	4	
26	C	20.66	30.17	26.03	11.98	10.33	3	1	2	4	5	12.89
	S	31.21	19.11	28.66	12.10	8.92	1	3	2	4	5	
27	C	40.50	24.38	17.77	8.68	8.26	1	2	3	4	5	10.95
	S	31.21	22.93	19.11	10.83	15.92	1	2	3	5	4	
28	C	61.16	18.60	8.68	6.61	4.13	1	2	3	4	5	14.17
	S	49.68	17.20	14.65	5.73	12.74	1	2	3	5	4	
29	C	22.31	18.60	22.31	15.70	20.66	1-2	4	1-2	5	3	4.10
	S	22.29	22.29	22.93	12.74	19.75	2-3	2-3	1	5	4	
30	C	24.79	16.94	20.66	16.12	20.66	1	4	2-3	5	2-3	7.90
	S	24.84	18.47	27.39	11.46	17.83	2	3	1	5	4	
31	C	34.30	26.03	9.09	7.02	23.55	1	2	4	5	3	11.95
	S	30.57	17.83	10.83	7.01	33.76	2	3	4	5	1	
32	C	28.10	22.73	17.36	16.12	14.88	1	2	3	4	5	10.47
	S	19.75	21.02	20.38	16.56	22.29	4	2	3	5	1	
33	C	35.54	17.77	16.94	11.16	18.18	1	3	4	5	2	13.56
	S	42.04	11.46	24.20	6.37	15.92	1	4	2	5	3	
34	C	11.16	9.50	16.94	20.25	42.15	4	5	3	2	1	3.37
	S	8.28	10.19	16.56	22.93	42.04	5	4	3	2	1	

Our first task will be to identify the extent to which the responses to the value orientations here tested are similar (or different) when Czechs and Slovaks are compared. The parameters set up for this purpose are four: identities, likenesses, similarities, and resemblances.

Identities in value orientations between the Czechs and Slovaks with respect to individual items of the schedule are defined, in the context of this study, as those instances in which the rank orders of response frequencies for both Czechs and Slovaks coincide.

Likenesses in value orientations between the Czechs and Slovaks with respect to individual items of the schedule are defined as those instances--other than identities--in which no less than four fifths (80 percent) of all responses for both Czechs and Slovaks extend over coincident rank assignments.

Similarities in value orientations between the Czechs and Slovaks with respect to individual items of the schedule are defined as those instances--other than identities or likenesses--in which no less than 65 percent of all responses for both Czechs and Slovaks extend over coincident rank assignments.

Resemblances in value orientations between the Czechs and Slovaks with respect to individual items of the schedule are defined as those instances--other than identities, likenesses, or similarities--in which no less than 50 percent of all responses for both Czechs and Slovaks extend over coincident rank assignments.

Accordingly, we establish three identities: for Item 11

(collaterality as against individualism), Item 21 (present as against future), and Item 23 (discipline imposed from within as against discipline imposed from without); four likenesses: for Item 3 (doing as against being), Item 5 (past as against present), Item 17 (a pragmatic as against a theoretical approach to solving problems), and Item 28 (containing emotions as against expressing them); four similarities: for Item 6 (individualism as against lineality in the context of an interest group), Item 18 (being as against being-in-becoming), Item 27 (setting a good example as against well-meaning criticism), and Item 34 (tense as against relaxed life-style); and ten resemblances: for Item 1 (past as against future), Item 2 (subject to nature as against mastering nature), Item 8 (proper place for a woman in the society), Item 10 (nationalistic as against supranational outlook), Item 13 (in harmony with nature as against mastering nature), Item 14 (cleanliness as an intrinsic ethical value as against an extrinsic one), Item 15 (criticism as against praise in rearing children), Item 19 (human nature basically good as against basically evil), Item 22 (subject to nature as against in harmony with nature), and Item 29 (sources of differences in social status).

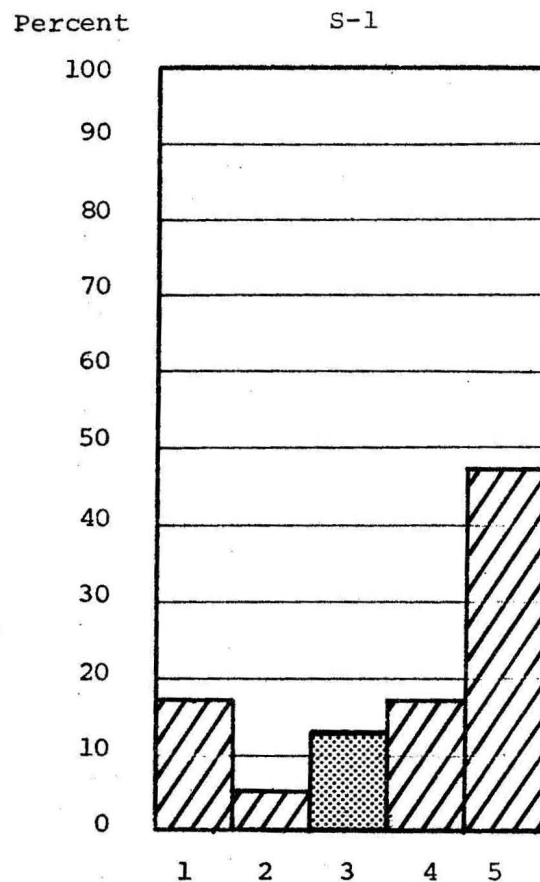
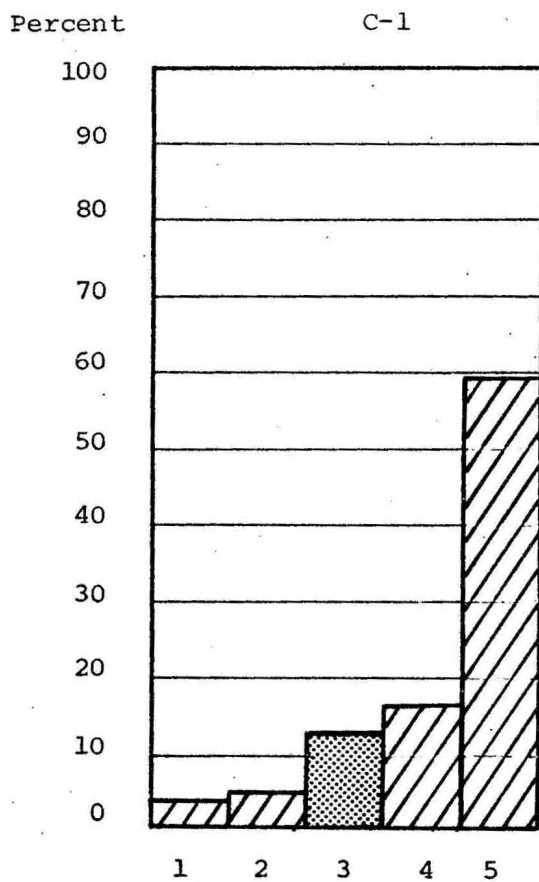
We next examine Table 4 for sharply contrasting responses. In the context of this study, contrarities in value orientations between Czechs and Slovaks are defined as those instances in which the rank order assignments for Czechs and Slovaks in the first and also in the last column are 3 or 4 degrees apart, and the corresponding responses total at least 50 percent both for Czechs and for Slovaks.

Responses to Item 32 (whether human nature is viewed with trust or with suspicion) come closest to this requirement: they satisfy the first but not the second condition (42.98 percent of the Czechs and 42.04 percent of the Slovaks). Within the scope of this study and in terms of the definition, no contrarities have been established.

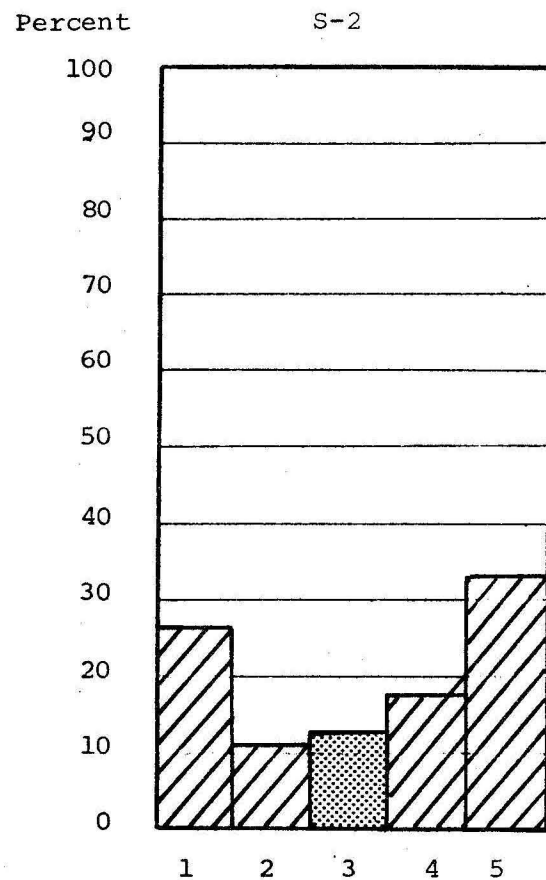
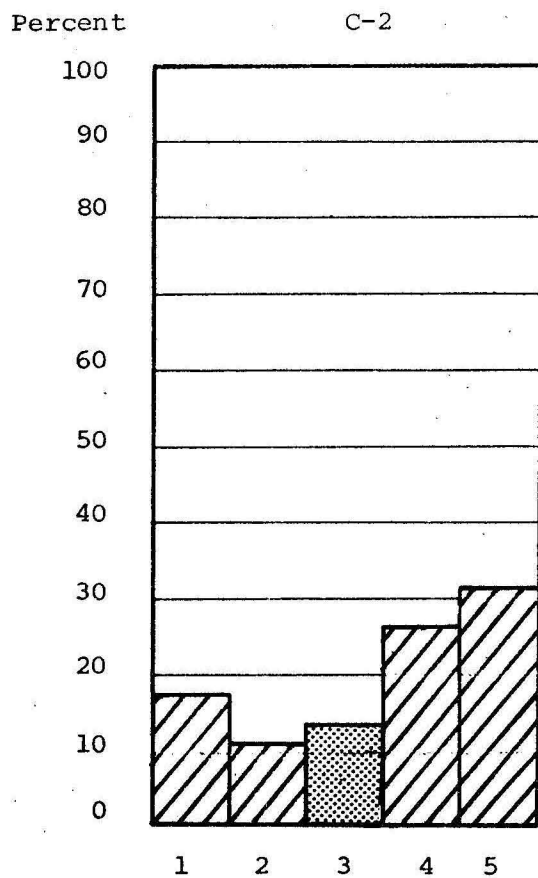
It will be noted that the index of dissimilarity correlates only partially with the parameters established and discussed above.²⁰ This is to be expected inasmuch as this index is not designed to take into account the extent to which changed responses would have to be redistributed over the scale to achieve identity. Thus, while the index serves the useful function of providing a raw measure of the differences in value orientations between the Czechs and the Slovaks, it is not sufficiently discriminating for our purposes.²¹

3.3. Value orientation profiles of this section are based on Table 4. Response frequencies for Columns 1 through 5 are represented in simple percentage bar charts, the arrangement of both the columns and the bars corresponding to the five-step scale of Questionnaire B (Column or Bar 1 = extreme left space of the questionnaire scale, Column or Bar 5 = extreme right space of the questionnaire scale, etc.). Column or Bar 3 denotes disagreement or ambivalence.

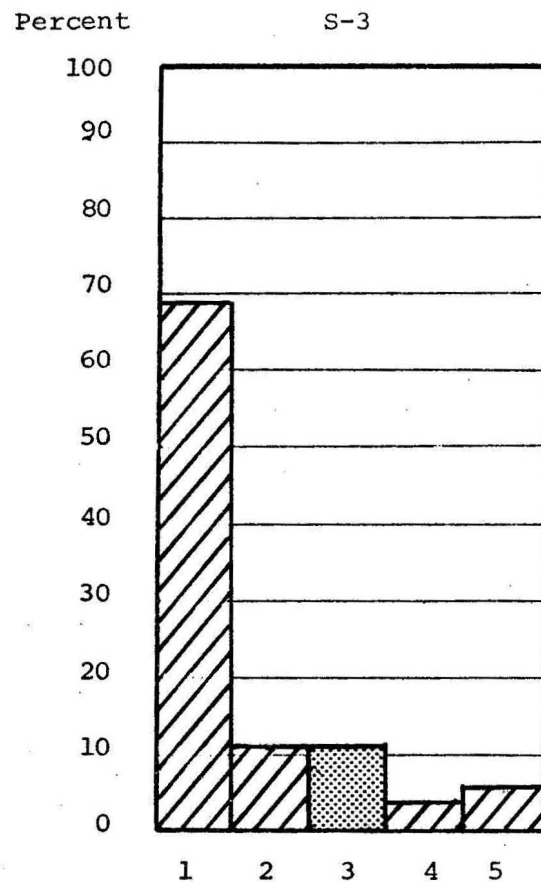
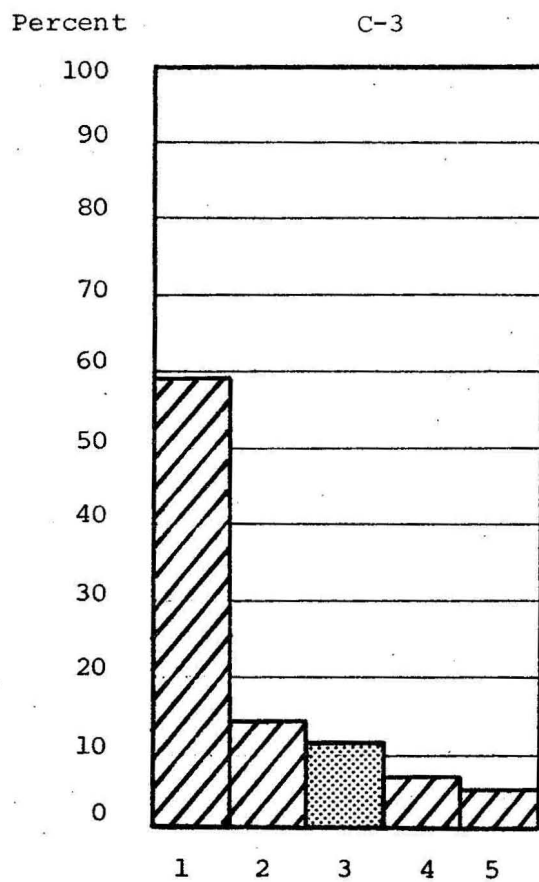
Item 1: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) distinctly favor orientation toward the future rather than toward the past, as shown in the value orientation profiles below. (Compare also Item 12 which is designed to elicit responses to a like set of propositions.)



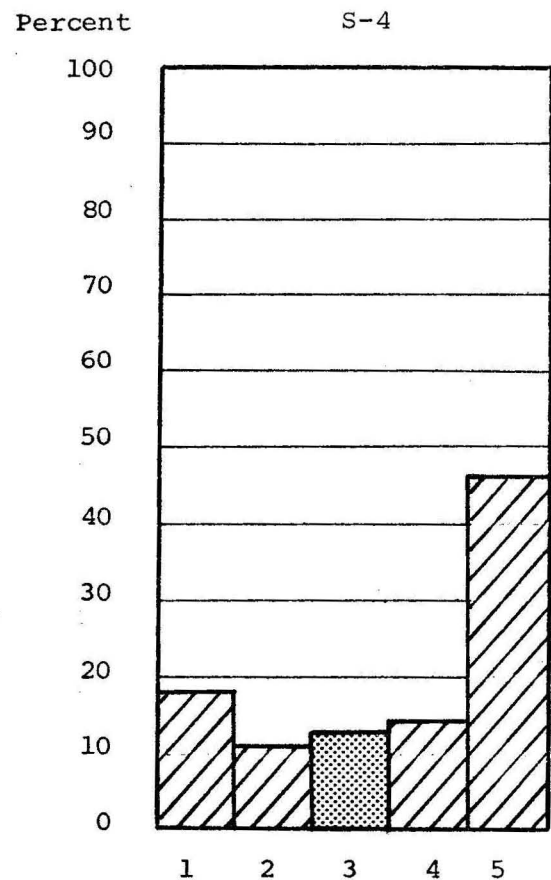
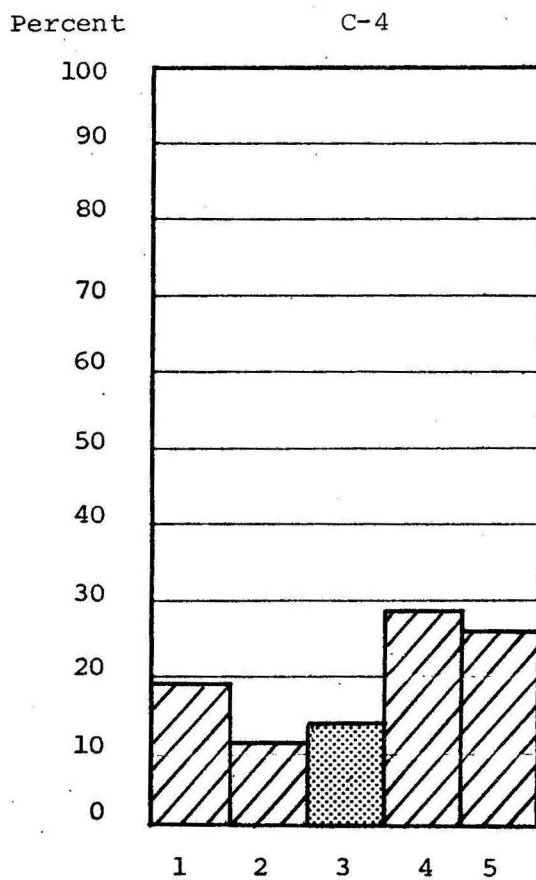
Item 2: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) tend toward aspiring to control nature rather than toward subjection to nature to the extent shown in the value orientation profiles below.



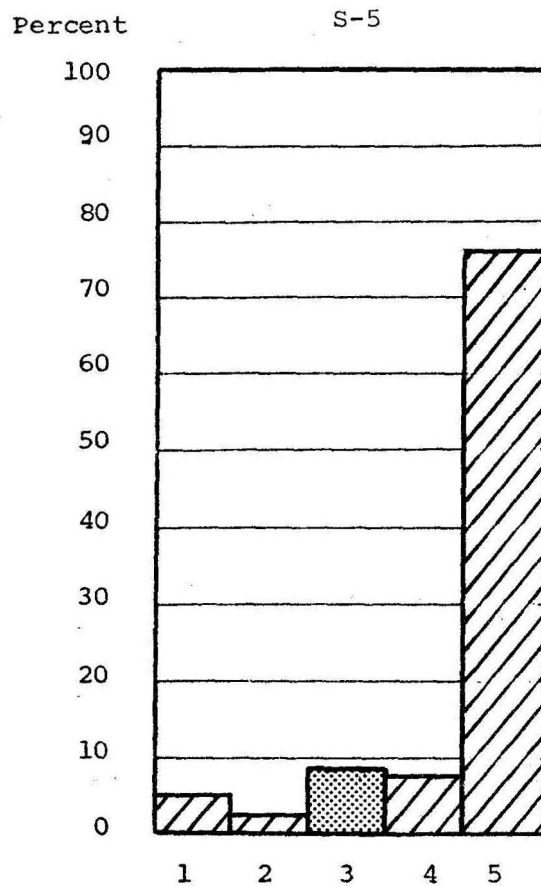
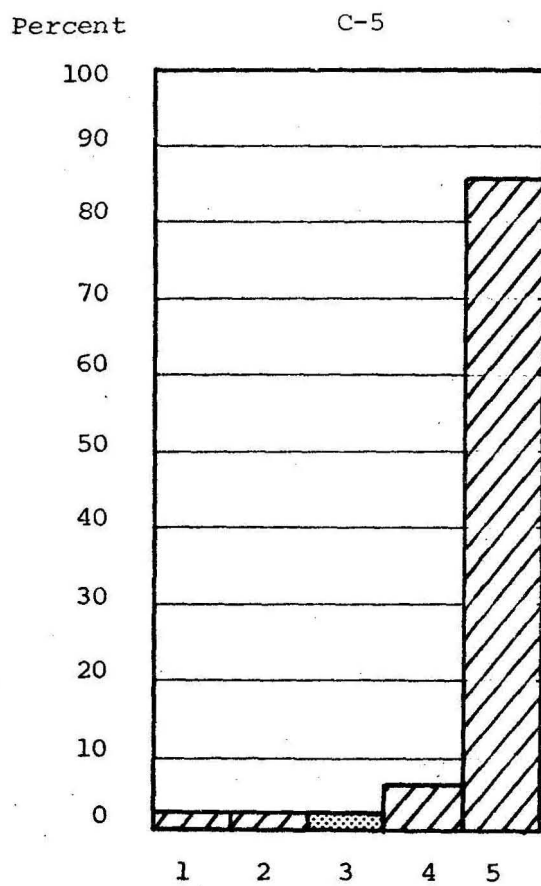
Item 3: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) regard orientation toward doing as overwhelmingly preferable to orientation toward being, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



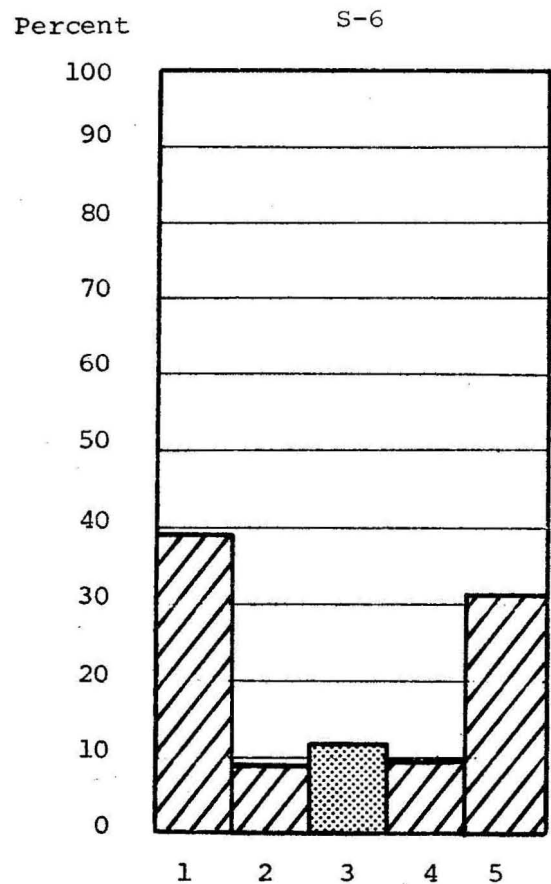
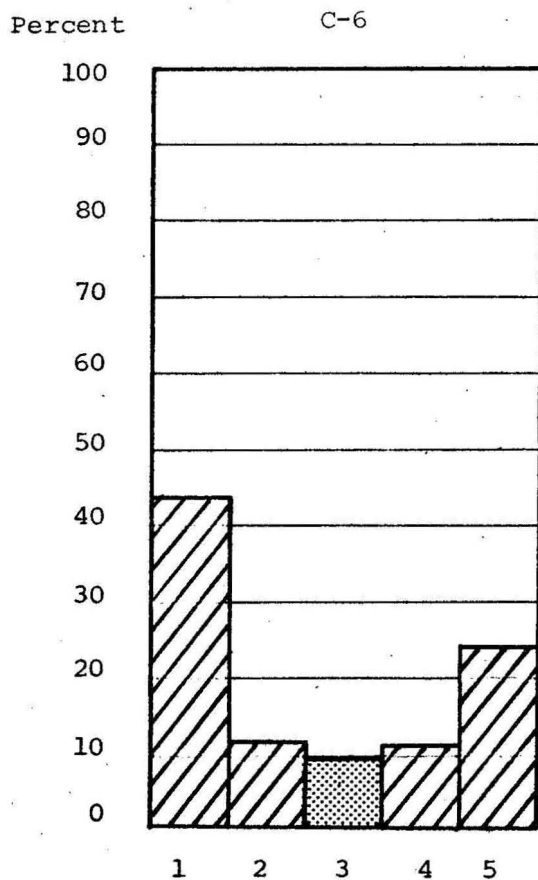
Item 4: In the context of a kin group, the Slovaks (S) tend more decidedly than the Czechs (C) toward lineality rather than individualism, as shown in the value orientation profiles below. (For a contrast in the context of an interest group, see Item 6.)



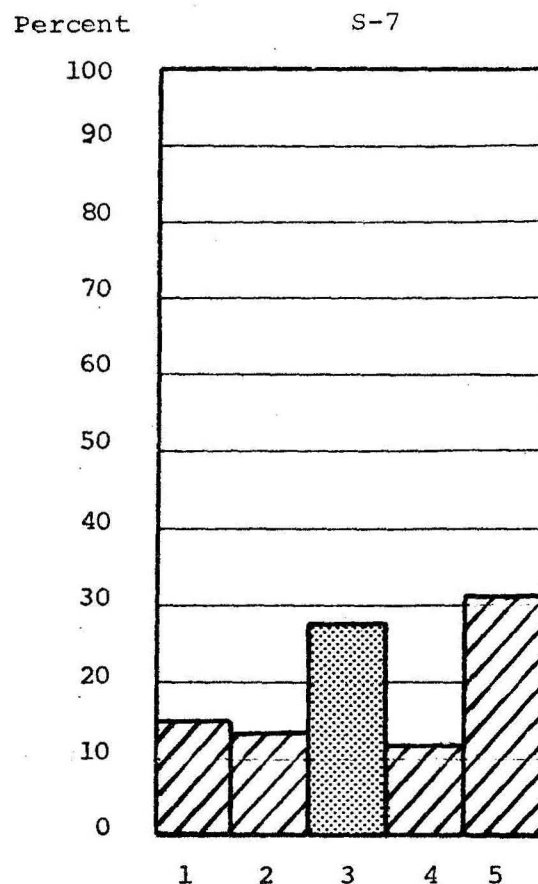
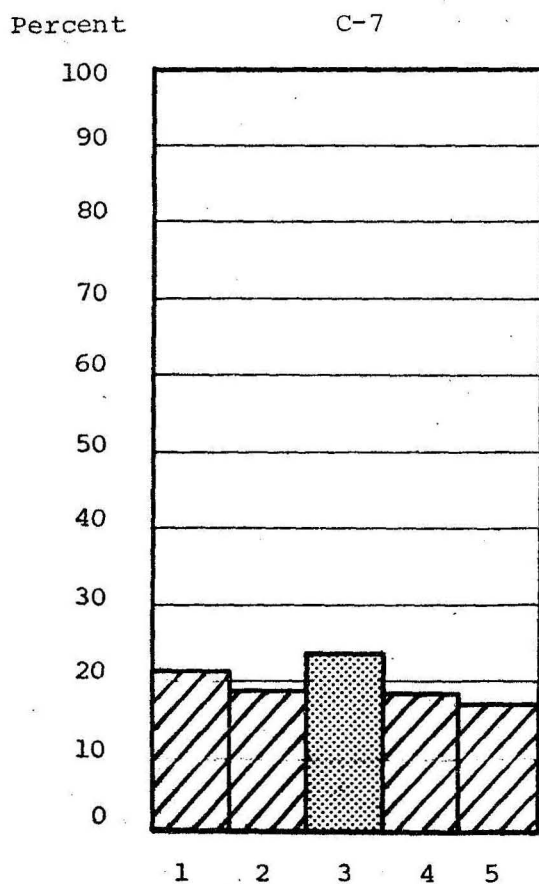
Item 5: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) regard orientation toward the present as overwhelmingly preferable to orientation toward the past, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



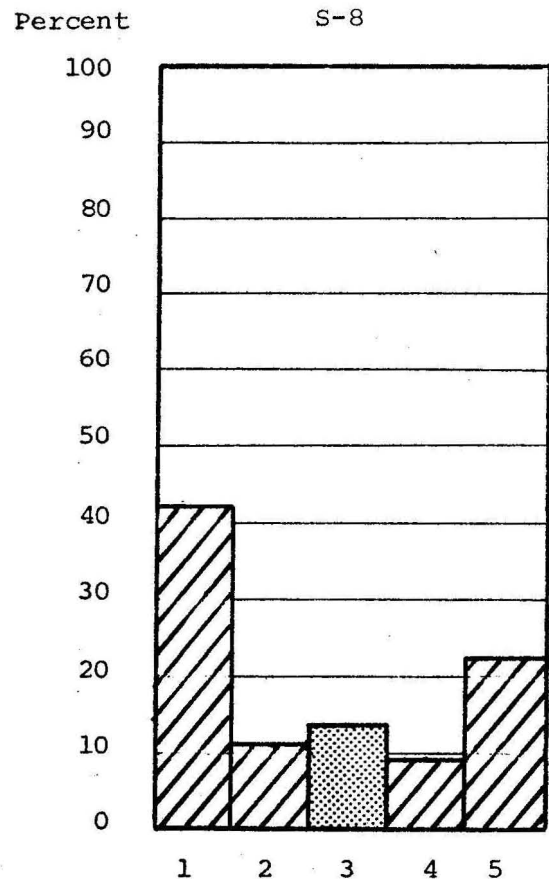
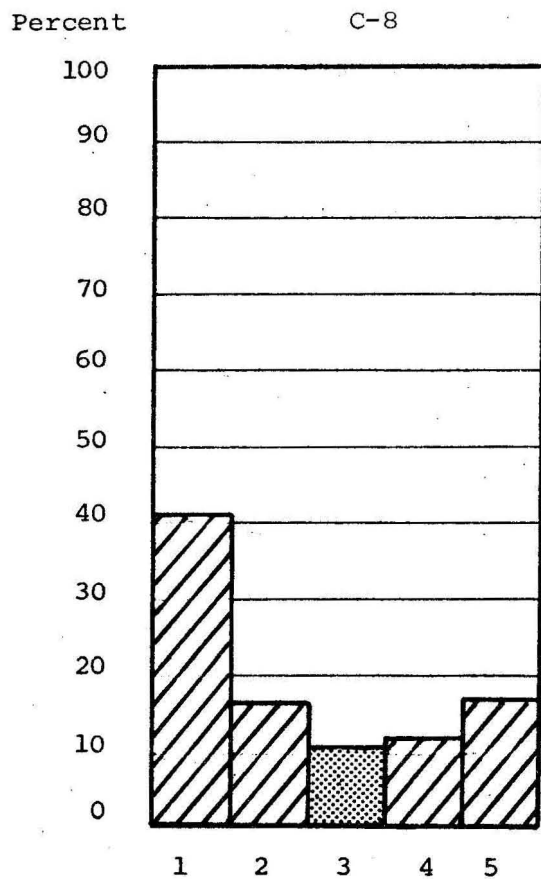
Item 6: In the context of an interest group, the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) tend toward individualism rather than toward lineality, as shown in the value orientation profiles below. (For a contrast in the context of a kin group, see Item 4.)



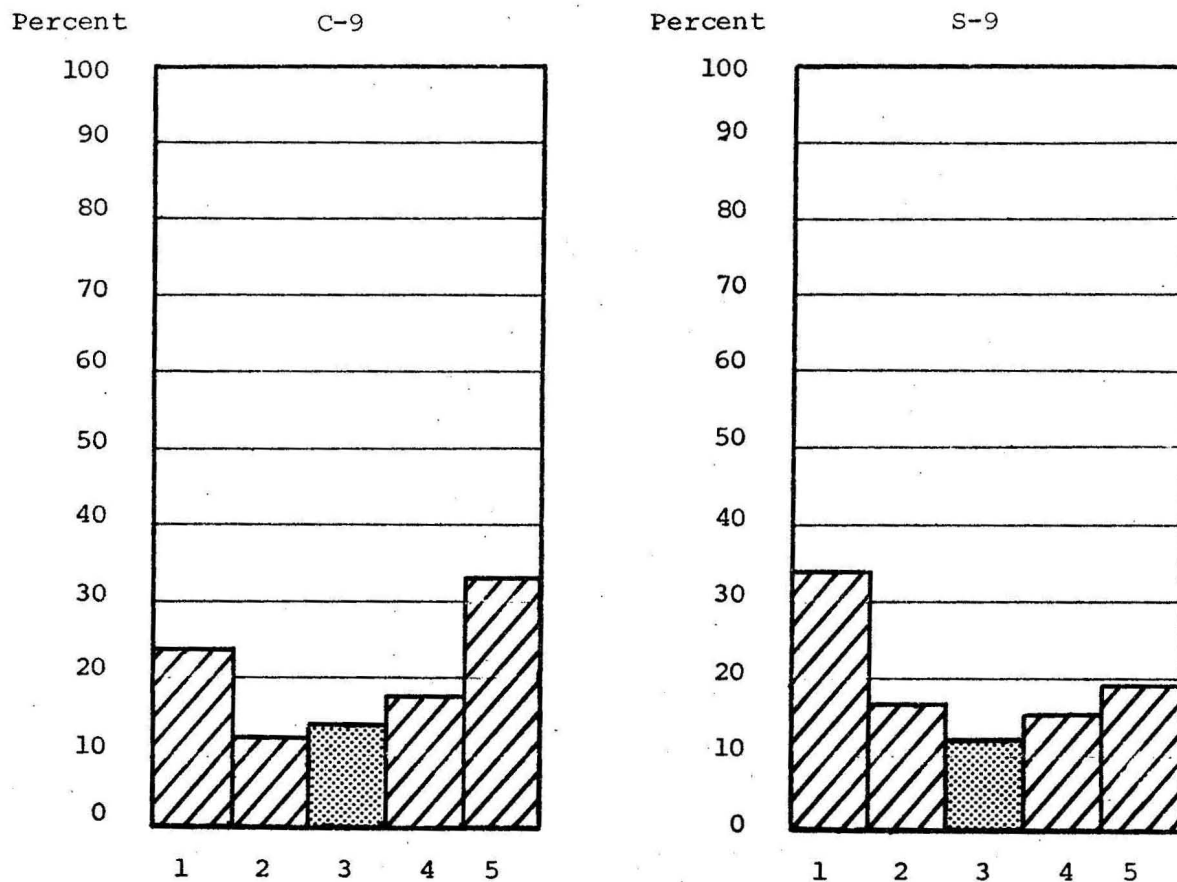
Item 7: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) appear undecided as to their preference between an orderly approach and a spontaneous, creative approach to doing things, while the Slovaks (S) tend to favor the latter approach. (Compare also Item 20 which is designed to elicit responses to a like set of propositions.)



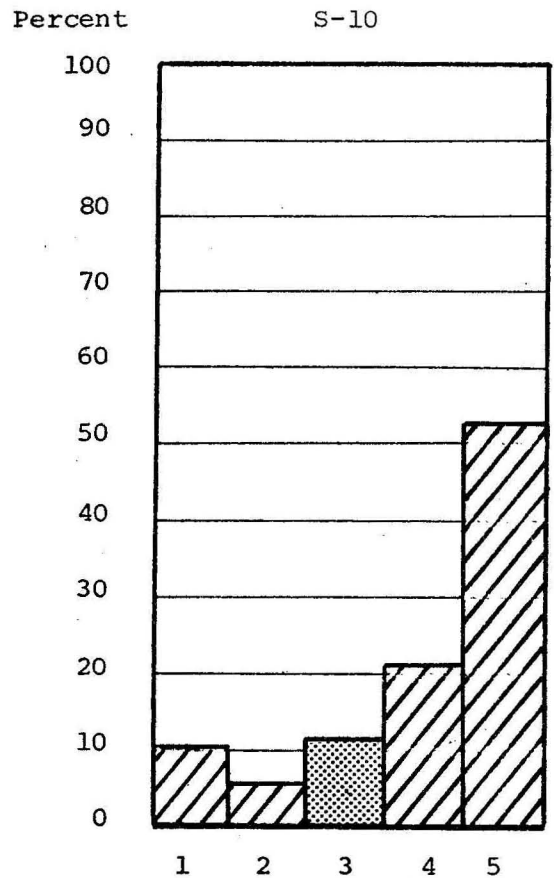
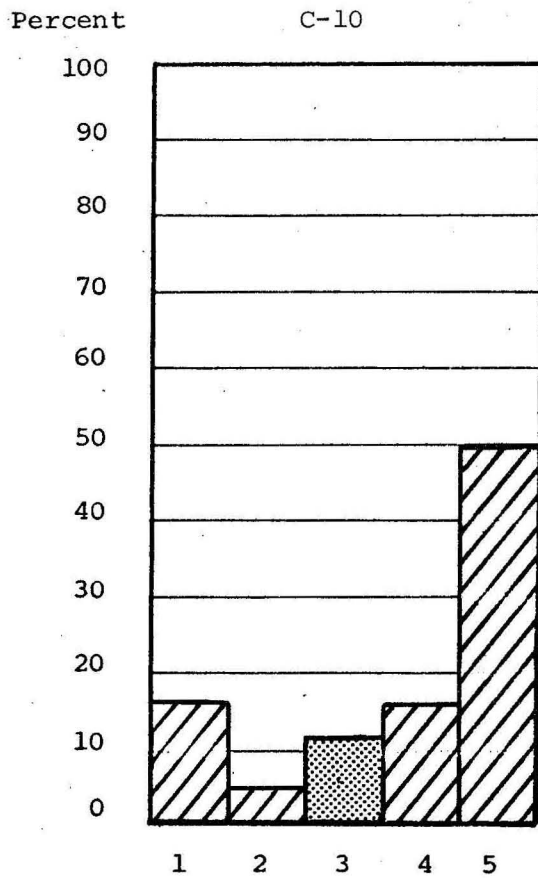
Item 8: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) prefer for women to be in the home rather than at work beside the man, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



Item 9: The Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) differ as to whether, in rearing children, value should be placed on sustained parental authority (preferred by the Slovaks) or on the children's independence of spirit (preferred by the Czechs). The extent of the difference in their views is shown in the value orientation profiles below.

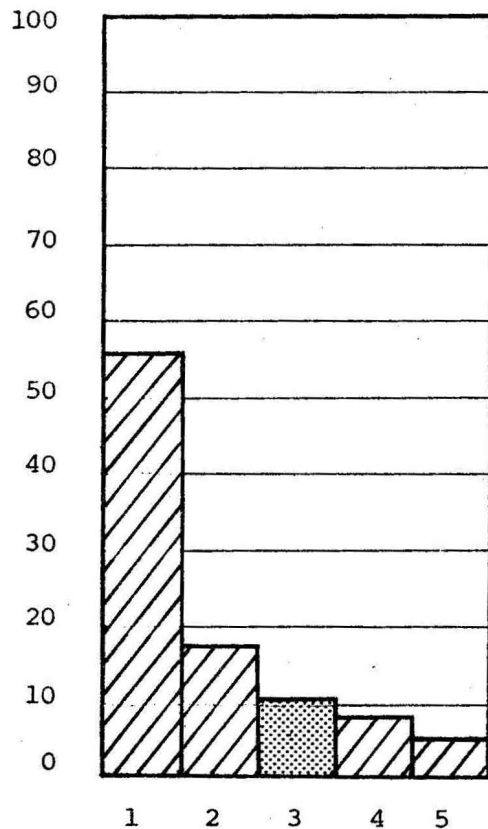


Item 10: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) consider their obligation toward humanity as decidedly more important than a narrowly nationalistic commitment.

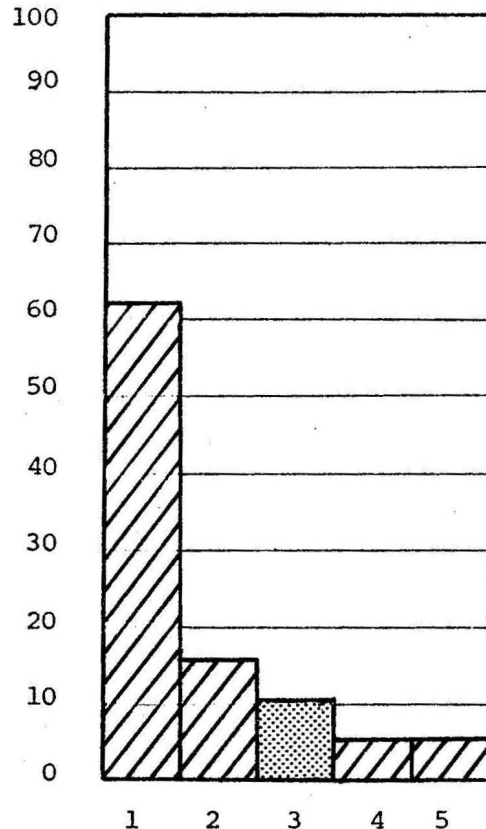


Item 11: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) regard orientation toward collaterality as decidedly preferable to orientation toward individualism, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.

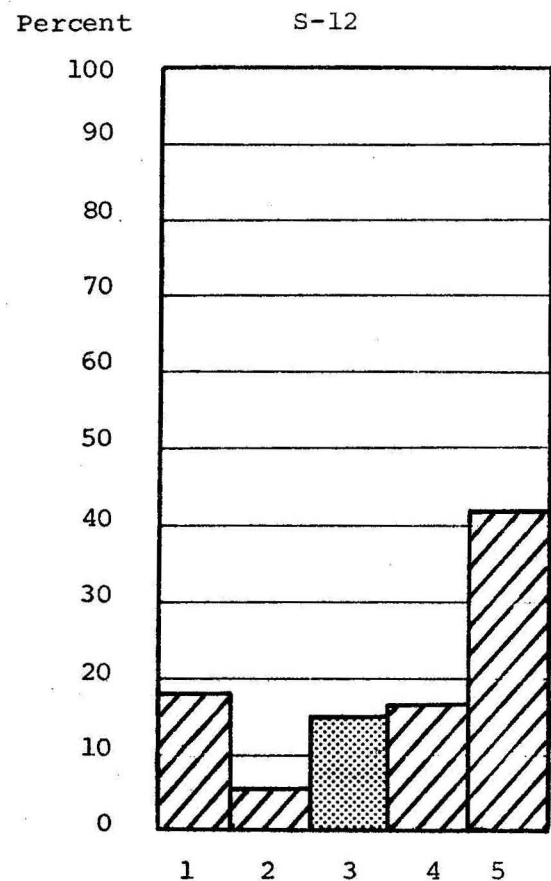
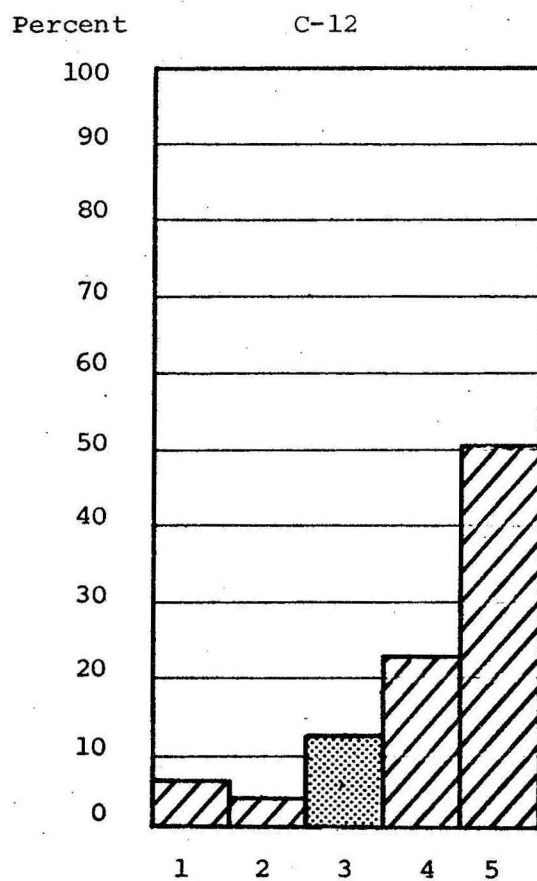
Percent C-11



Percent S-11

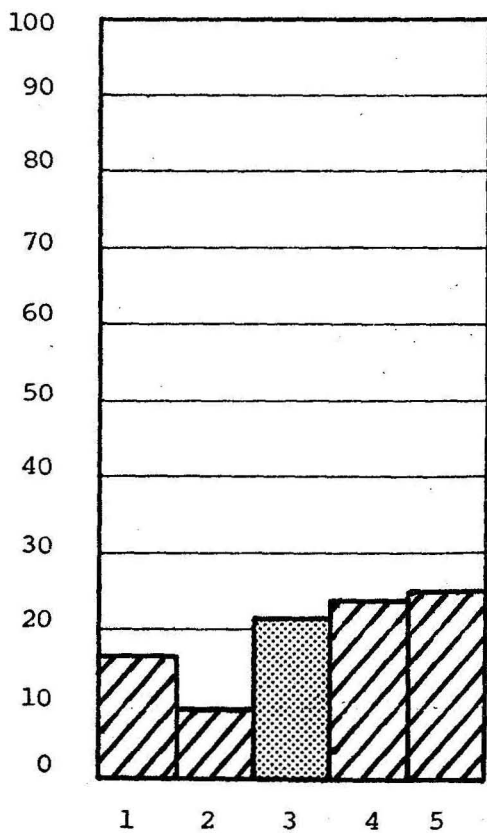


Item 12: The Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) distinctly favor orientation toward the future rather than toward the past, as shown in the value orientation profiles below. (Compare also Item 1 which is designed to elicit responses to a like set of propositions.)

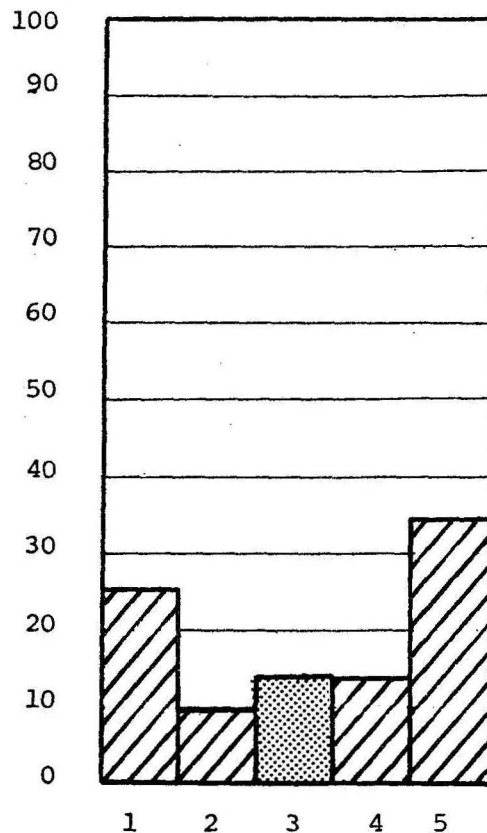


Item 13: To the extent shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) tend toward attempting to master nature rather than toward being in harmony with nature.

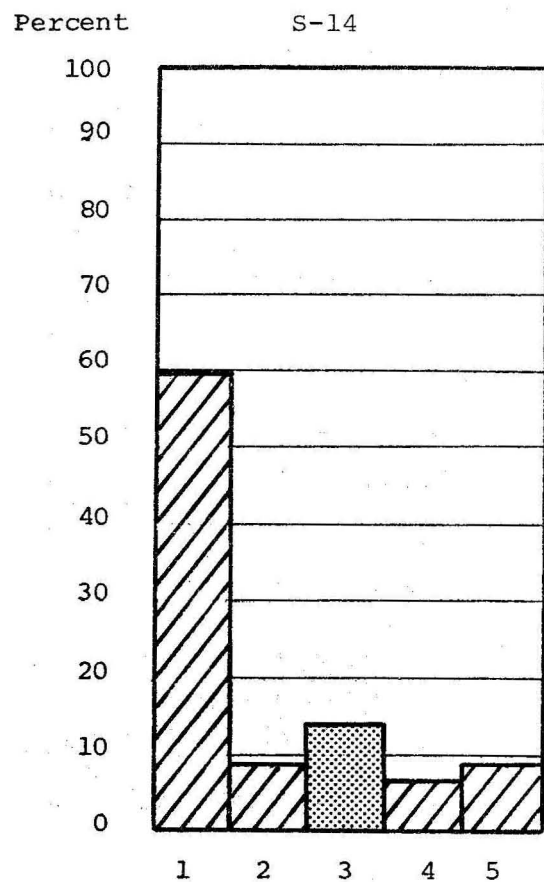
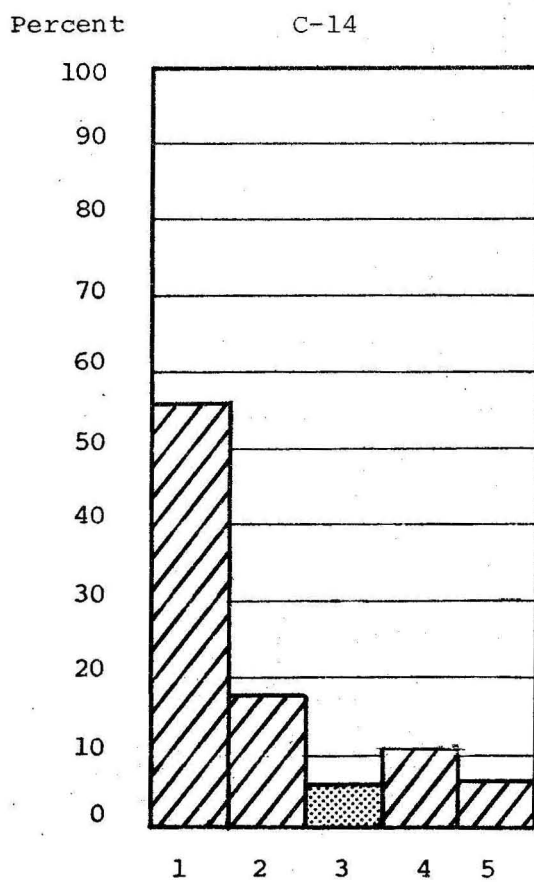
Percent C-13



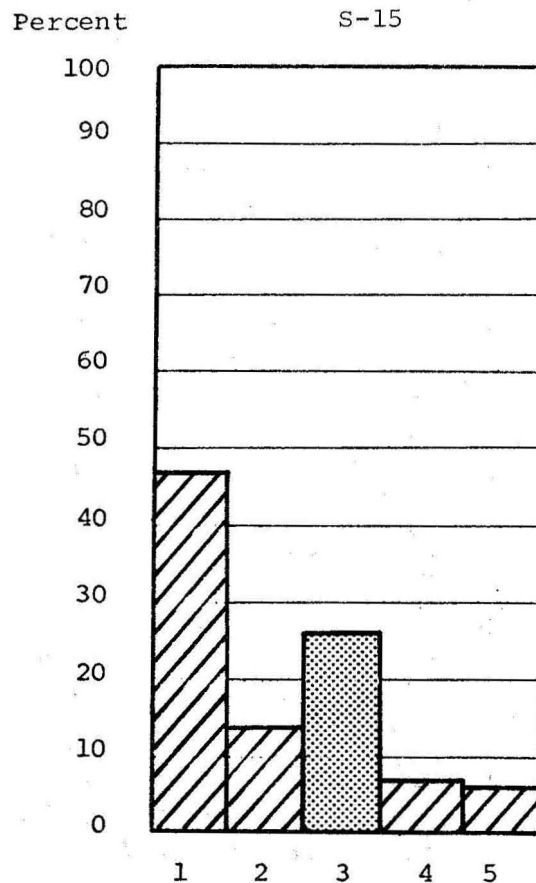
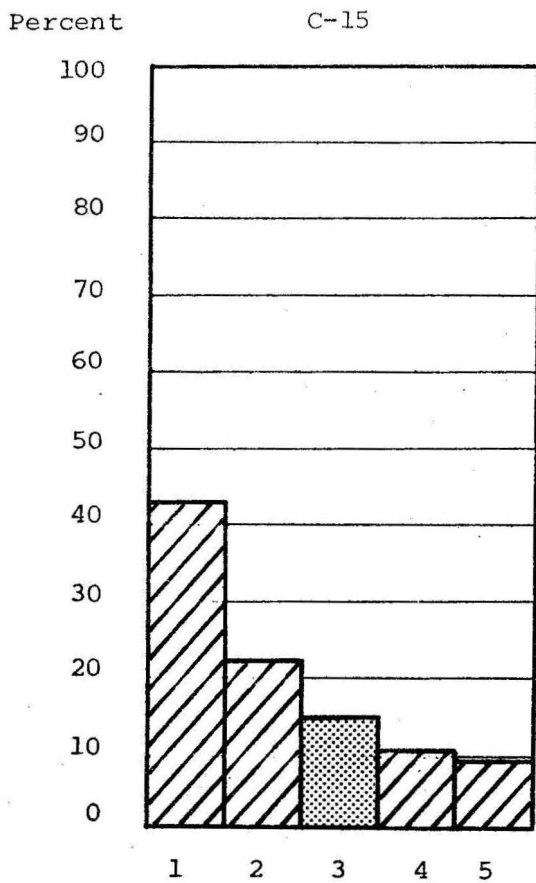
Percent S-13



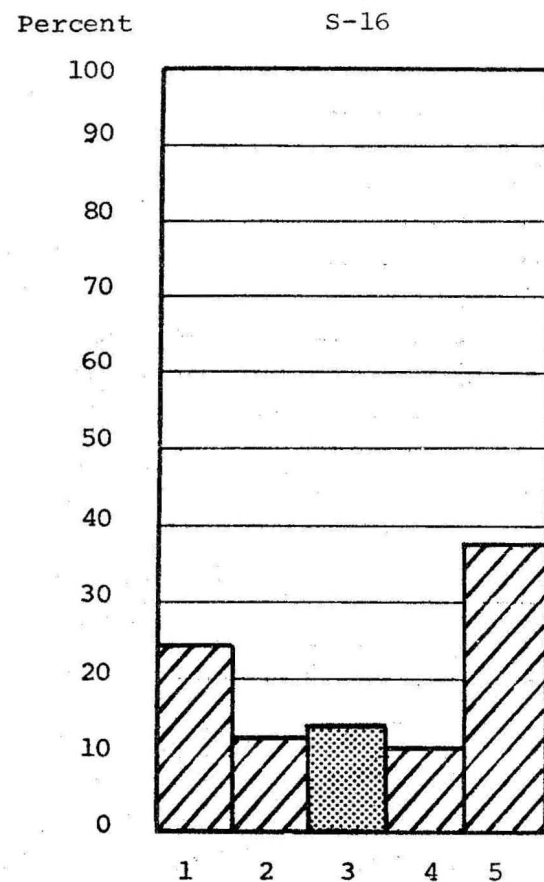
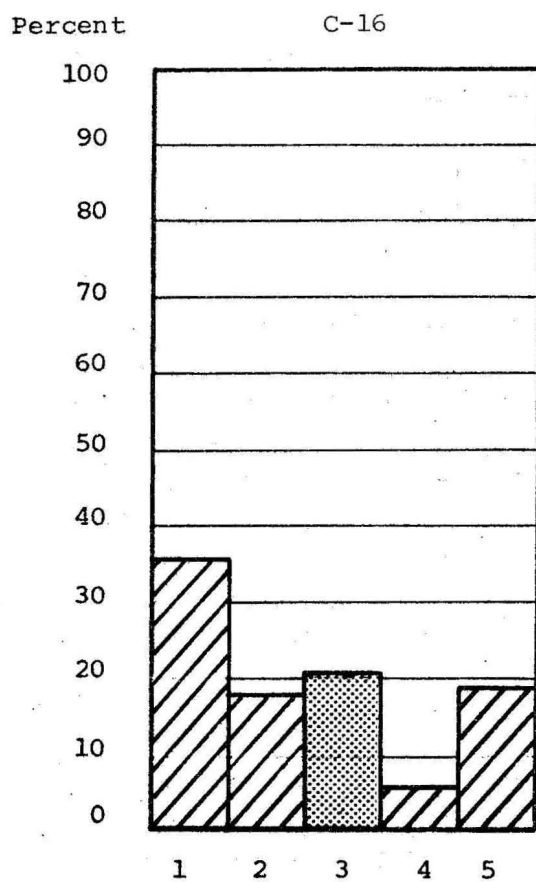
Item 14: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) are definite in considering cleanliness and neatness to be intrinsic ethical values.



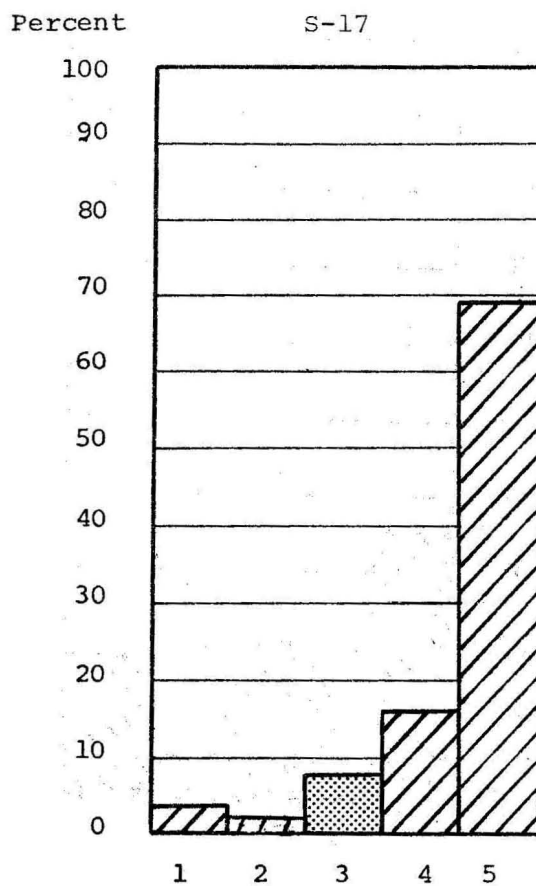
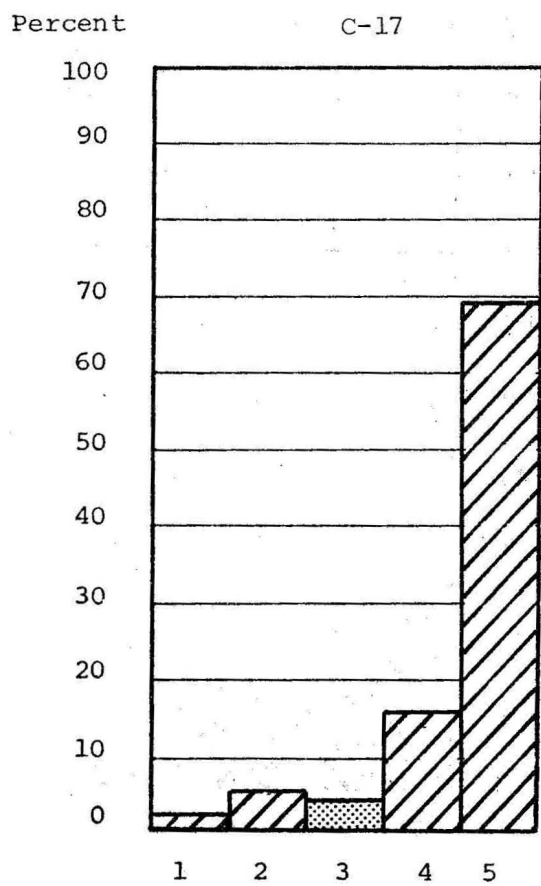
Item 15: In rearing children, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) place much greater emphasis on criticism than on praise, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



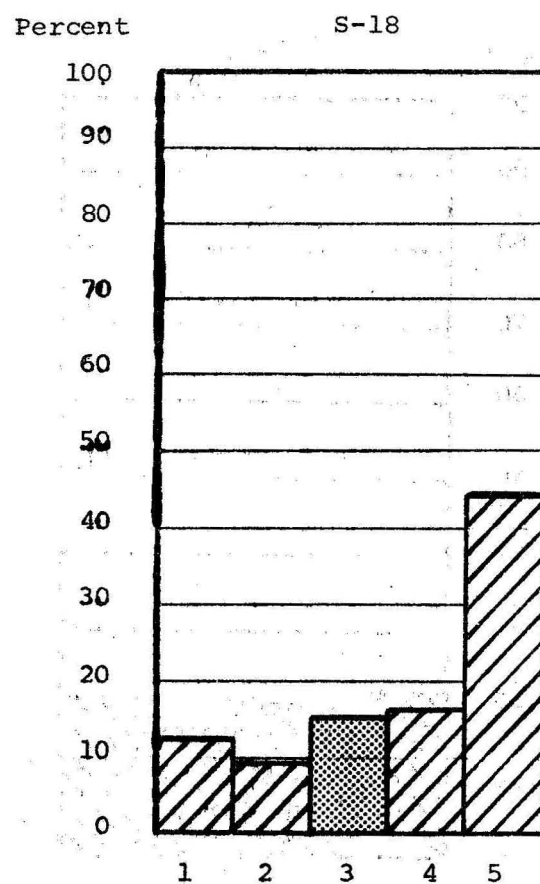
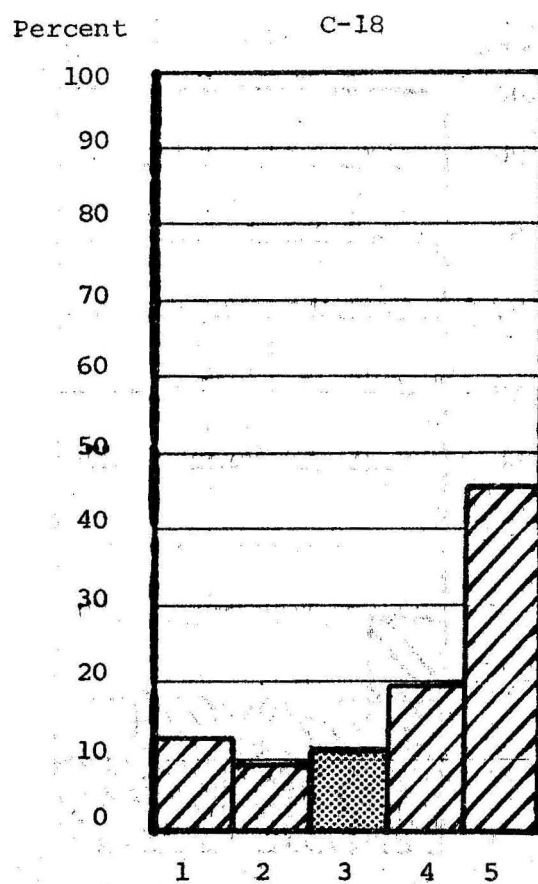
Item 16: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) lean decidedly toward lineality rather than collaterality, while the Slovaks (S) show an opposite tendency.



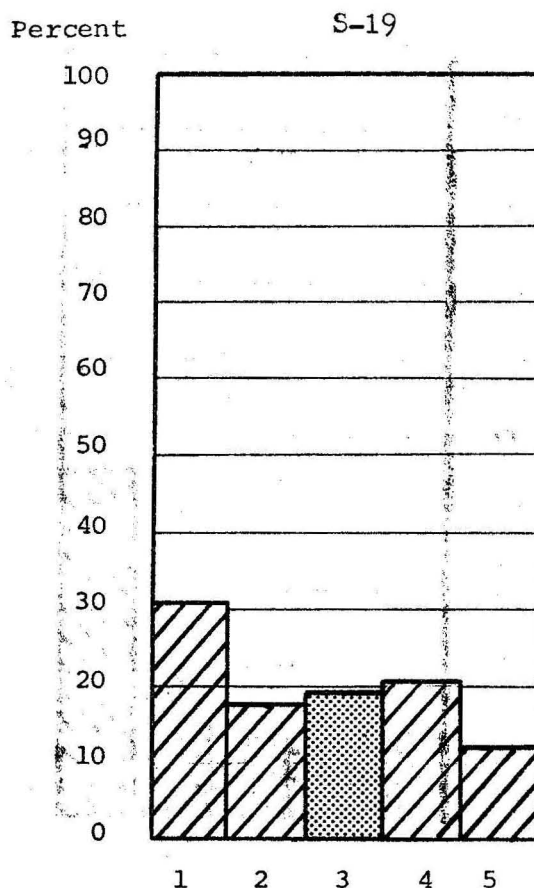
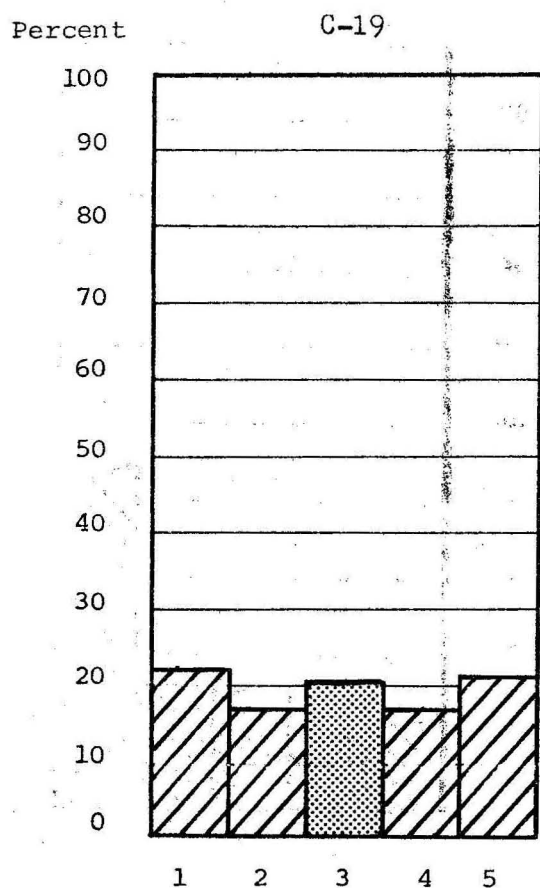
Item 17: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) prefer, to the same overwhelming extent, a theoretical (mentalistic) approach to solving problems rather than a pragmatic (practical, mechanistic) approach, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



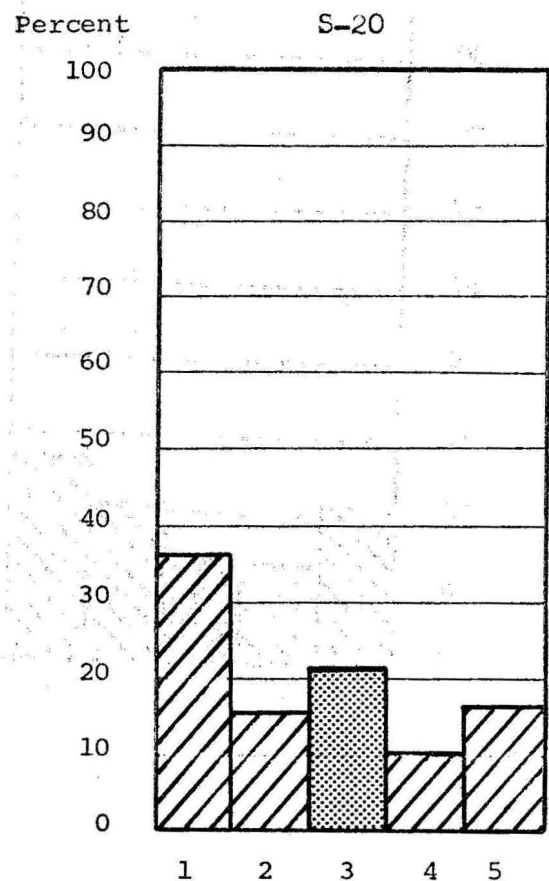
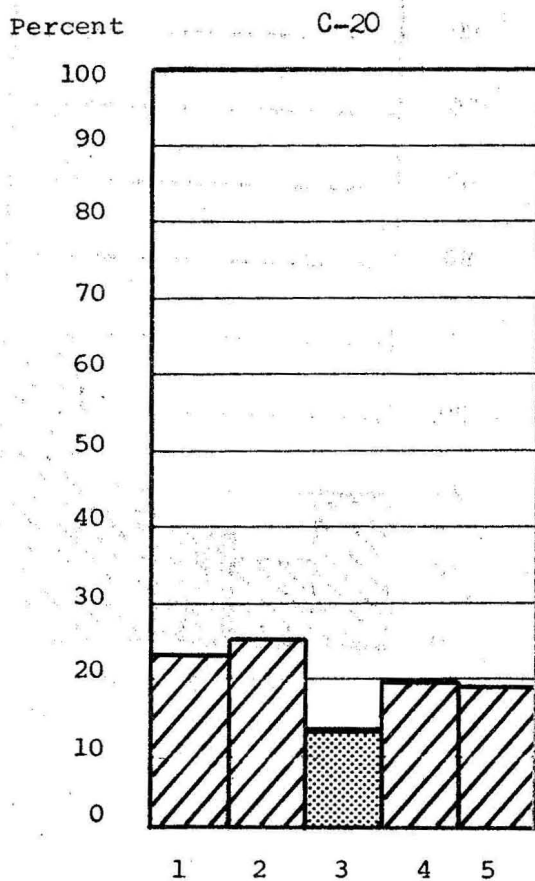
Item 18: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) are clearly oriented toward being-in-becoming rather than toward being.



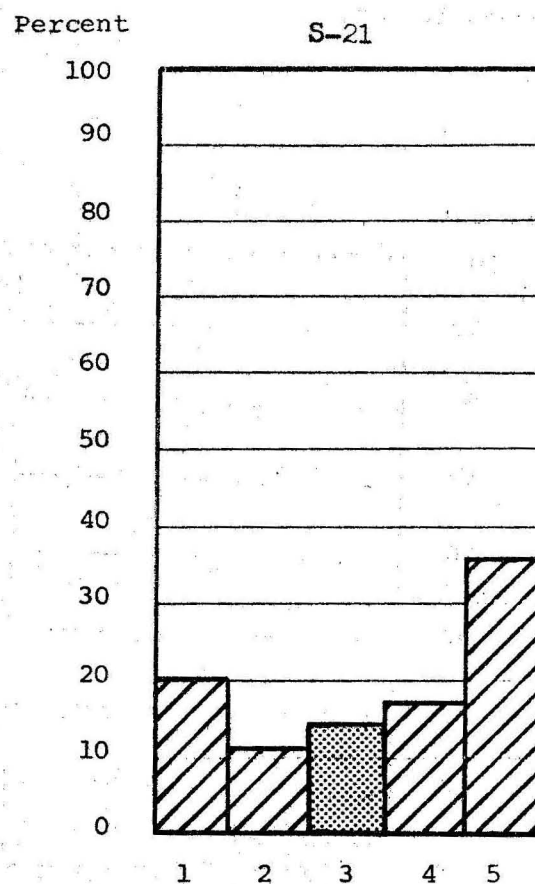
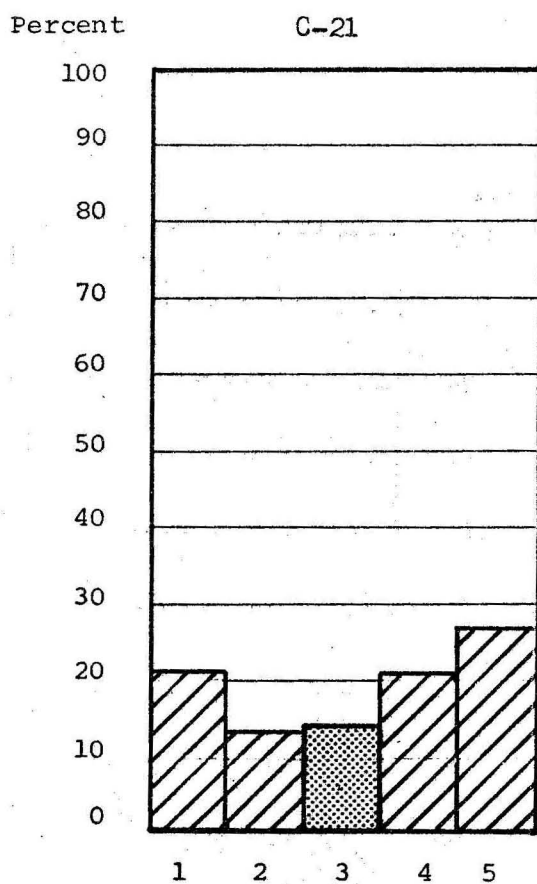
Item 19: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) are about equally split in their judgment as to whether human nature is basically good or evil, while the Slovaks (S) tend to view it as good, though by only a small margin.



Item 20: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) appear undecided as to their preference between an orderly approach and a spontaneous, creative approach to doing things, while the Slovaks (S) tend to favor the former approach. (Compare also Item 7 which is designed to elicit responses to a like set of propositions.)

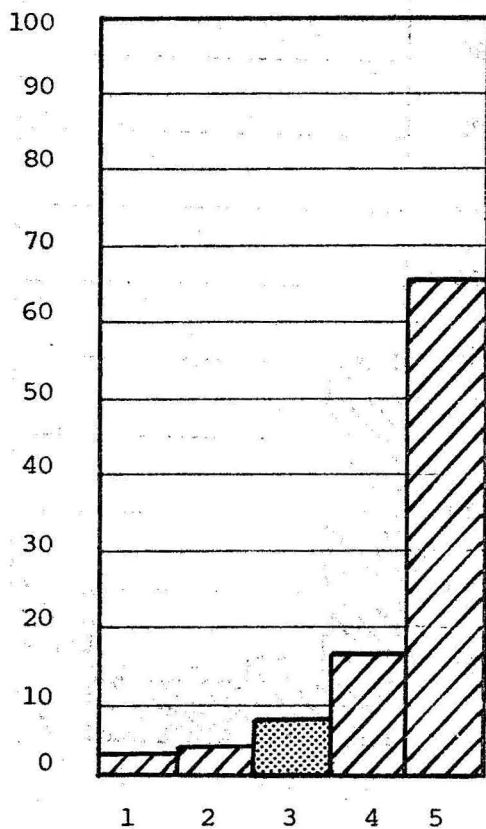


Item 21: To the extent shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) moderately favor orientation toward the future rather than toward the present.

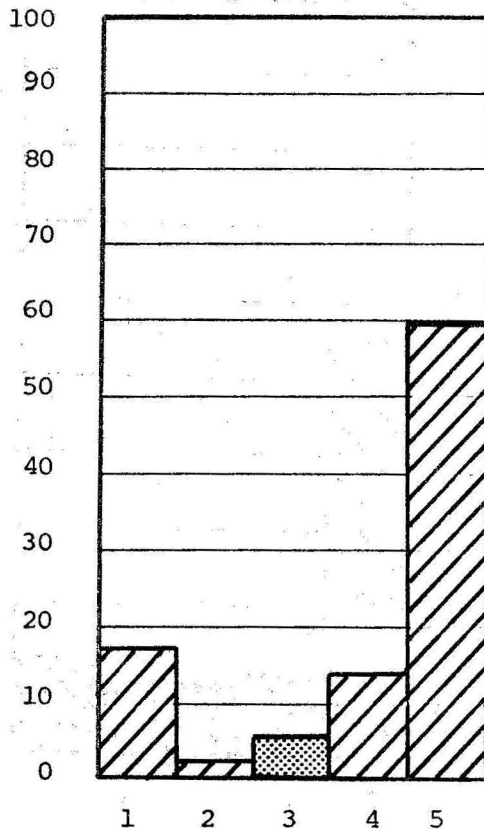


Item 22: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) distinctly favor being in harmony with nature over being subject to nature, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.

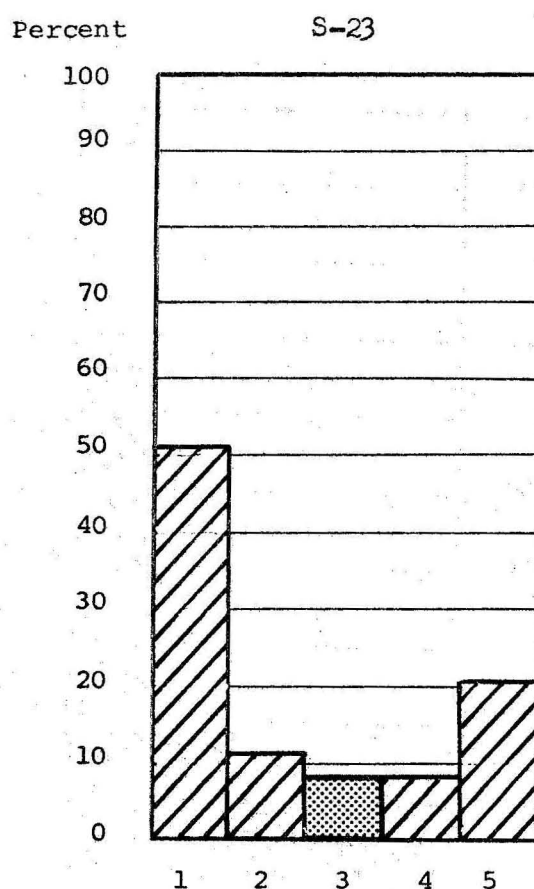
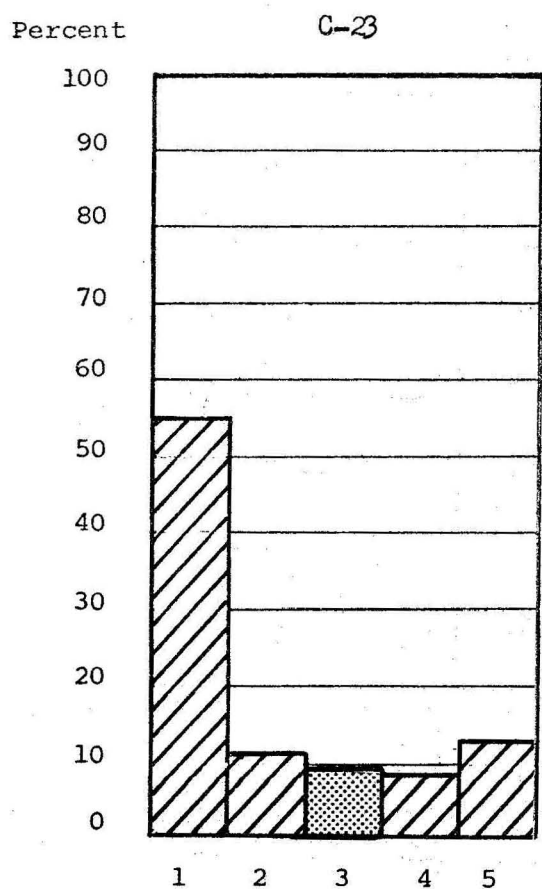
Percent C-22



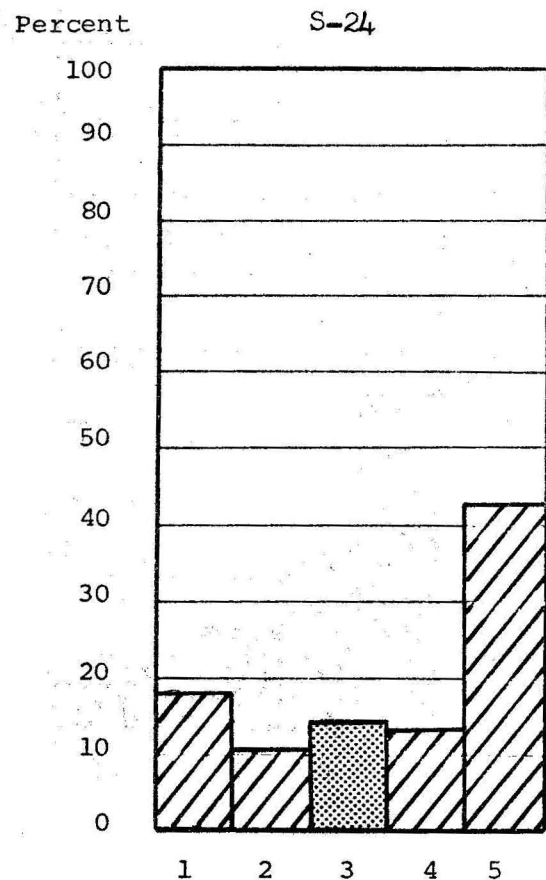
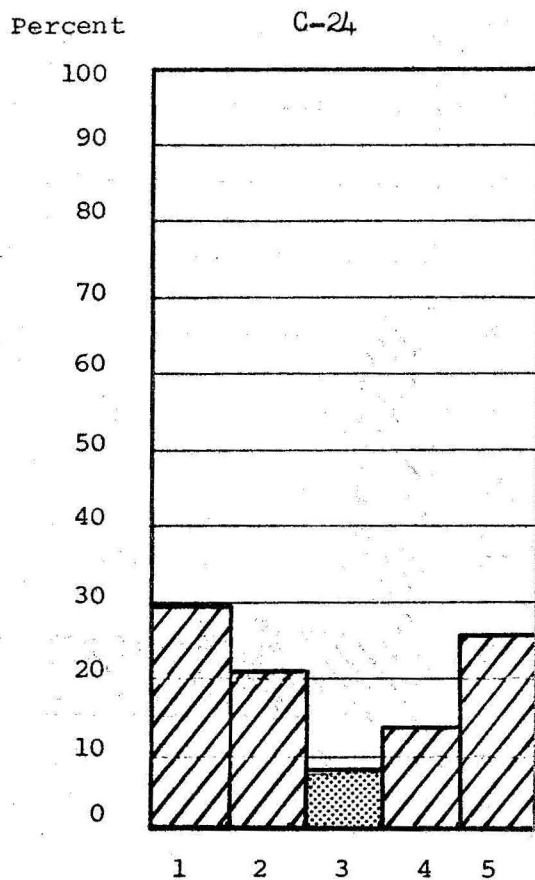
Percent S-22



Item 23: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) distinctly prefer discipline imposed from within to acceptable discipline imposed from without, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



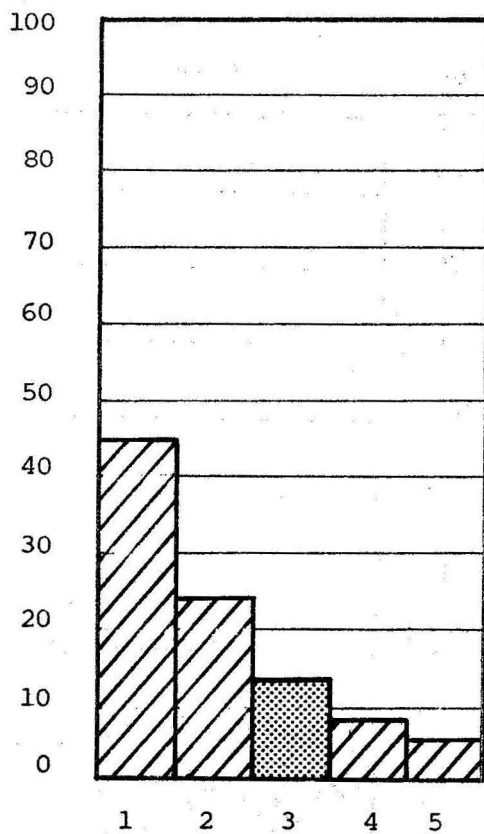
Item 24: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) appear undecided between a being-in-becoming orientation and a doing orientation, while the Slovaks (S) clearly favor the doing orientation.



Item 25: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) heavily favor an idealistic outlook on life as opposed to a materialistic one.

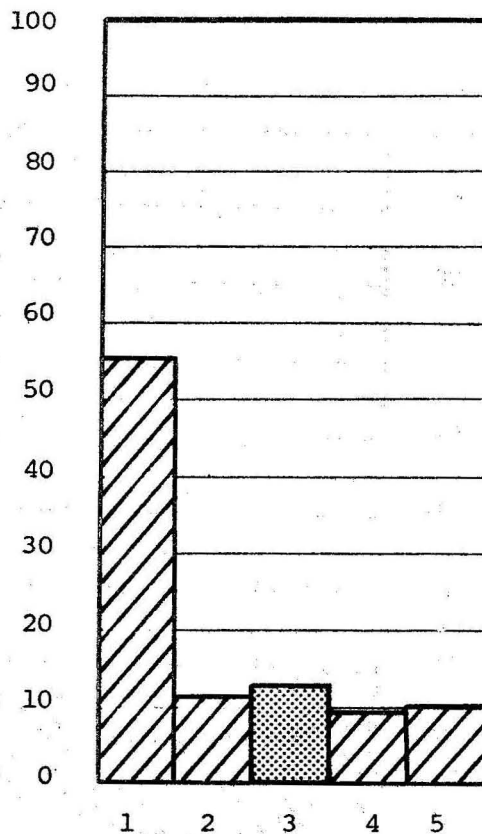
Percent

C-25

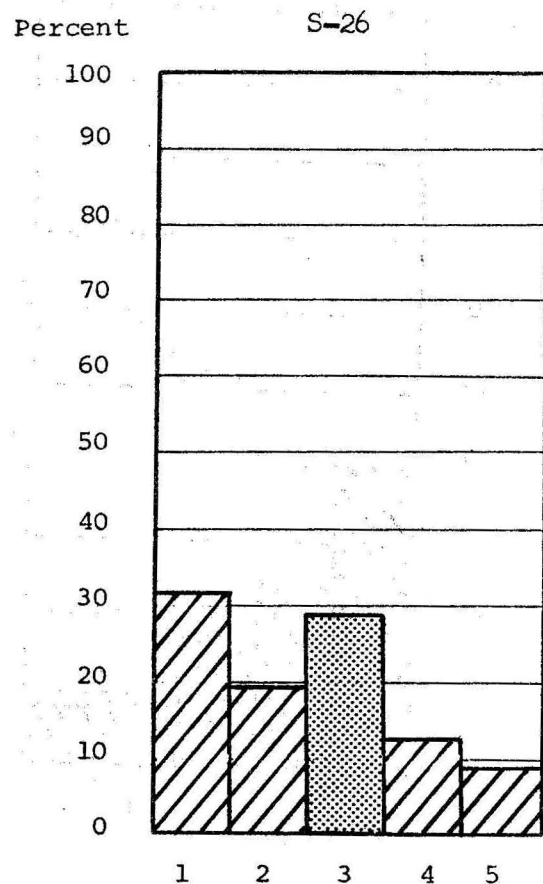
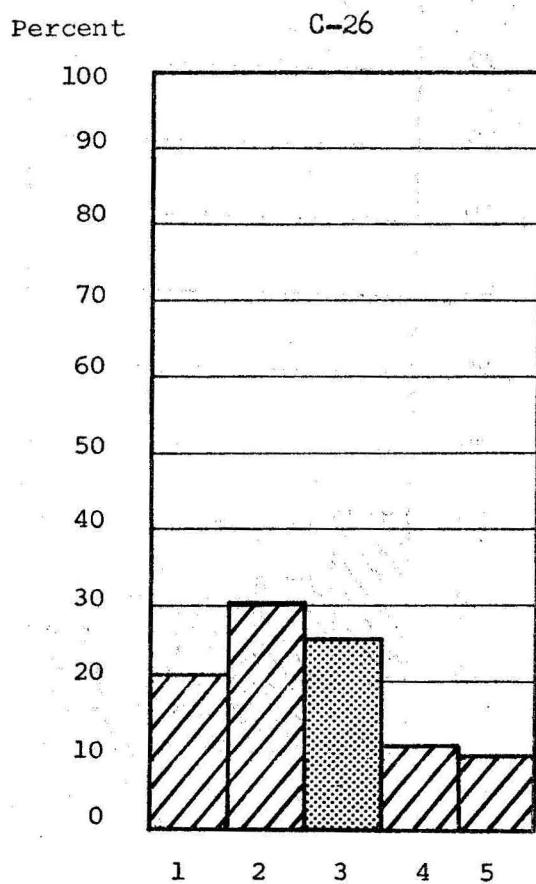


Percent

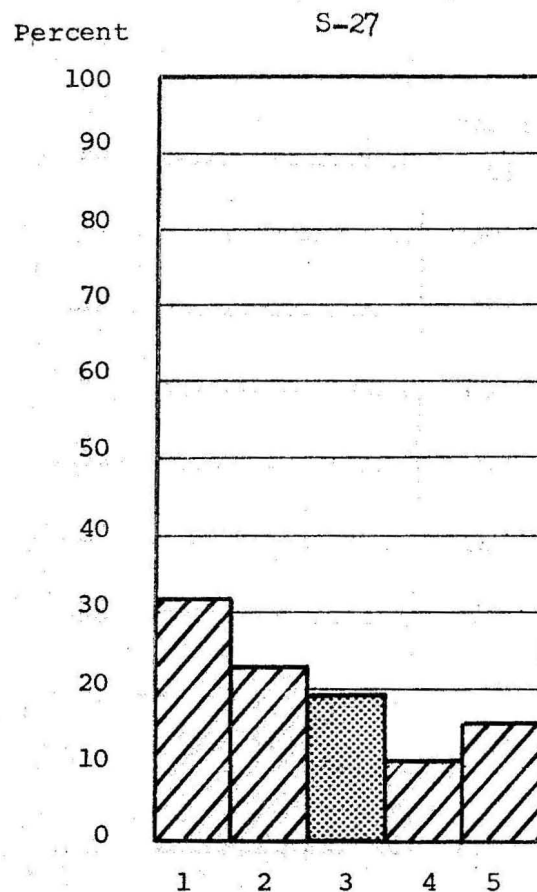
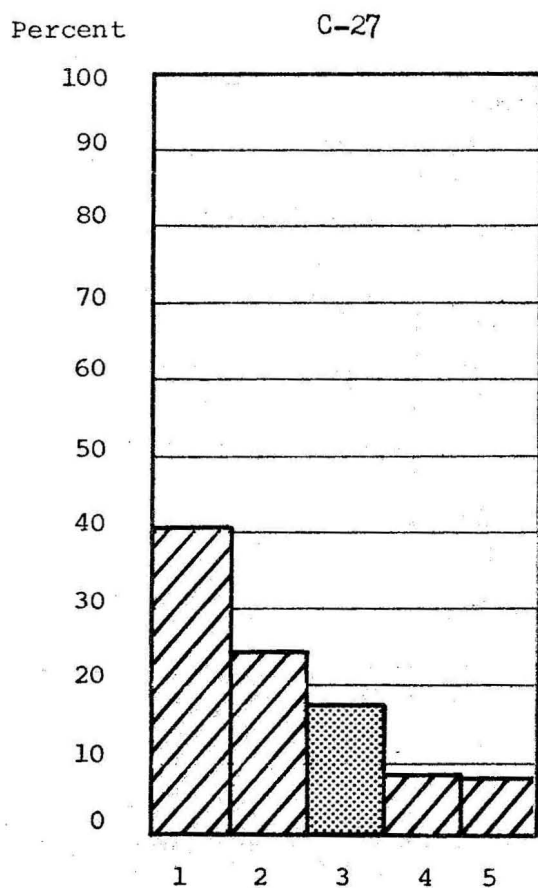
S-25



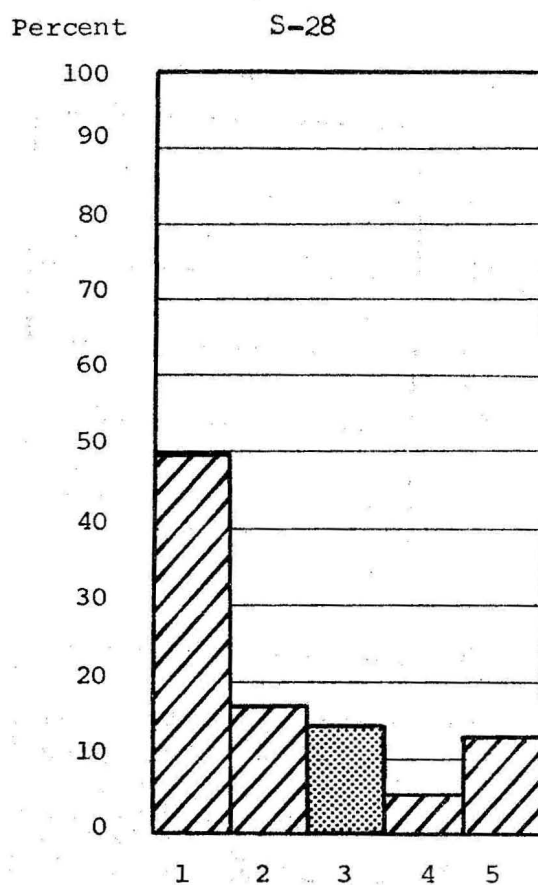
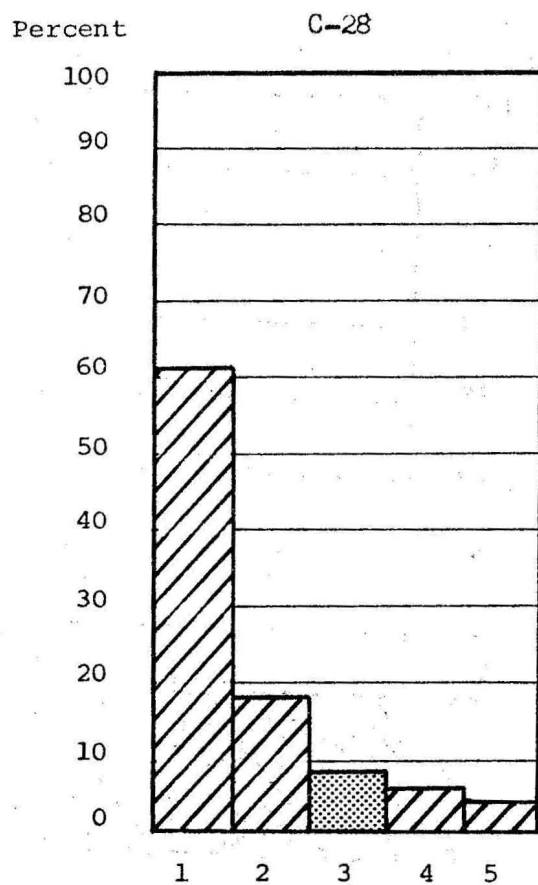
Item 26: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) tend toward belief in absolute ethical values rather than toward acceptance of so-called situational ethics.



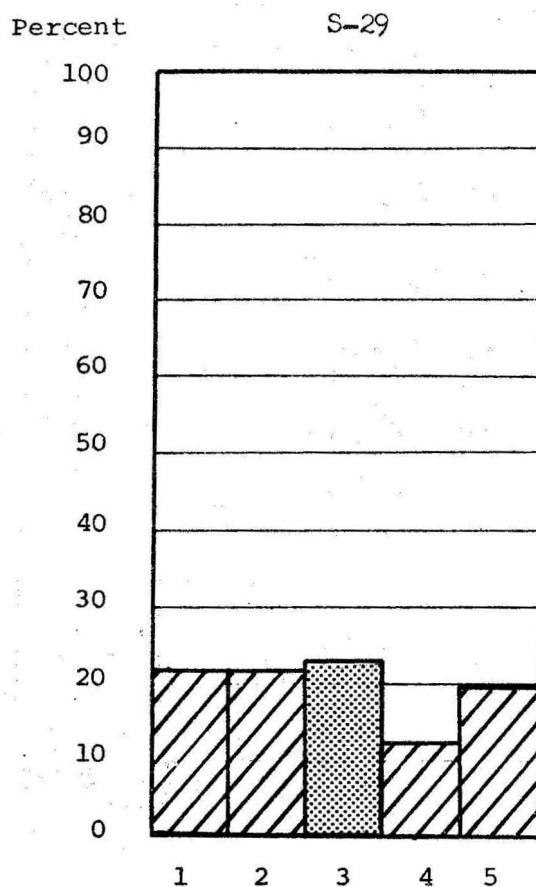
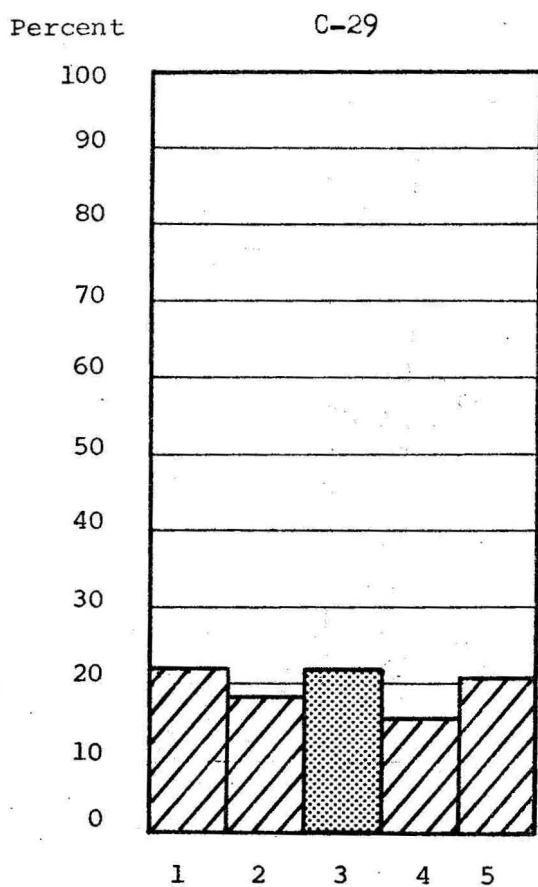
Item 27: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and, to a lesser degree, the Slovaks (S) prefer not to be criticized, even if the criticism is well meant.



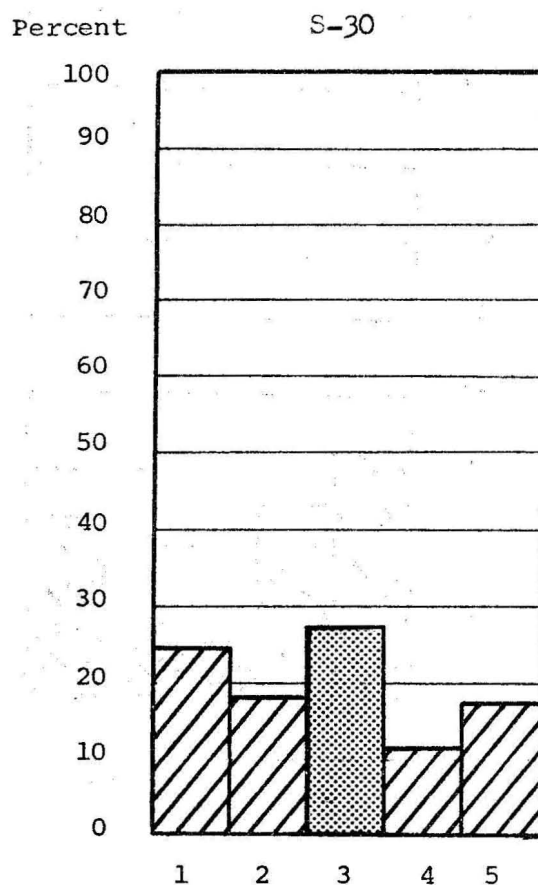
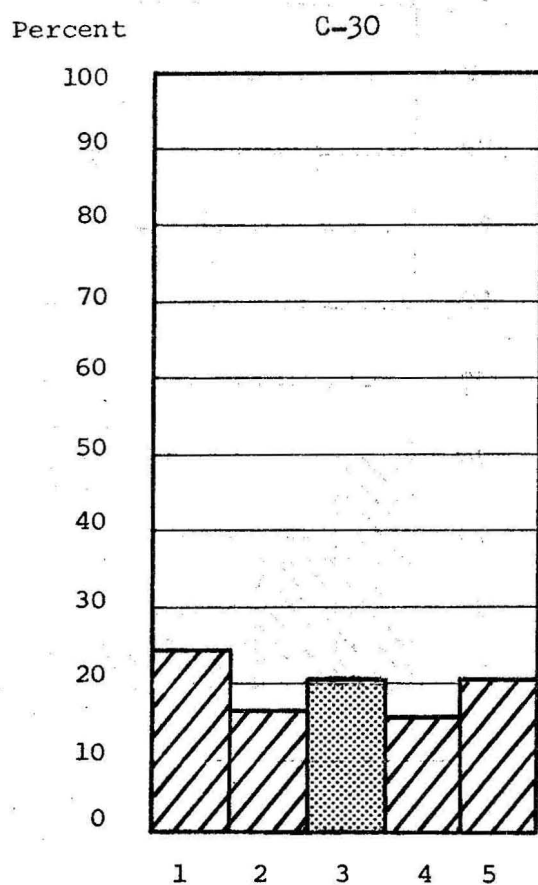
Item 28: In a crisis situation, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) decidedly favor the containment of emotions over the expression of emotions, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



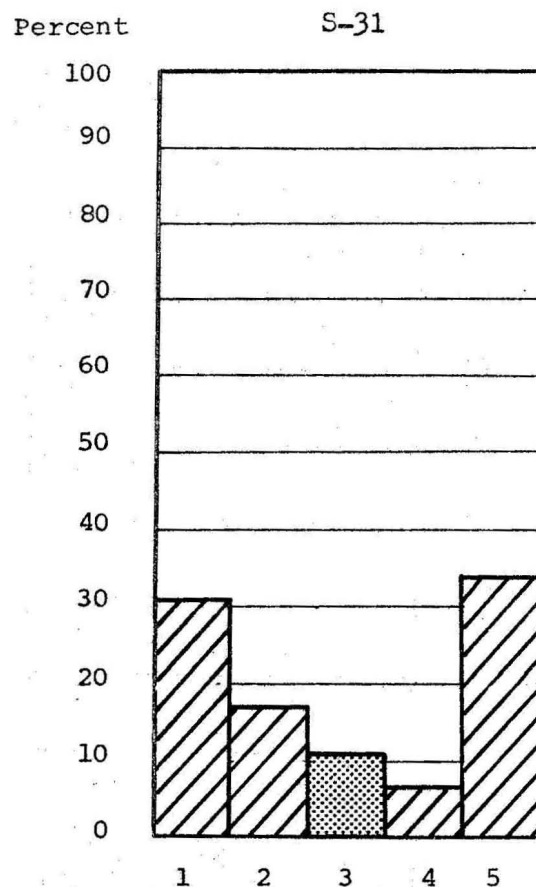
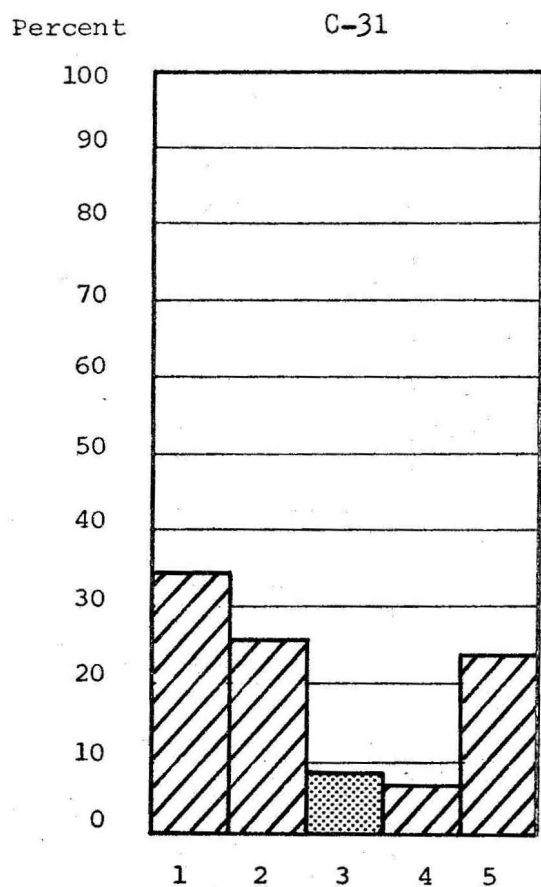
Item 29: Both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) appear undecided as to whether differences in social status can be attributed to educational background or to innate capability, as shown in the value orientation profiles below.



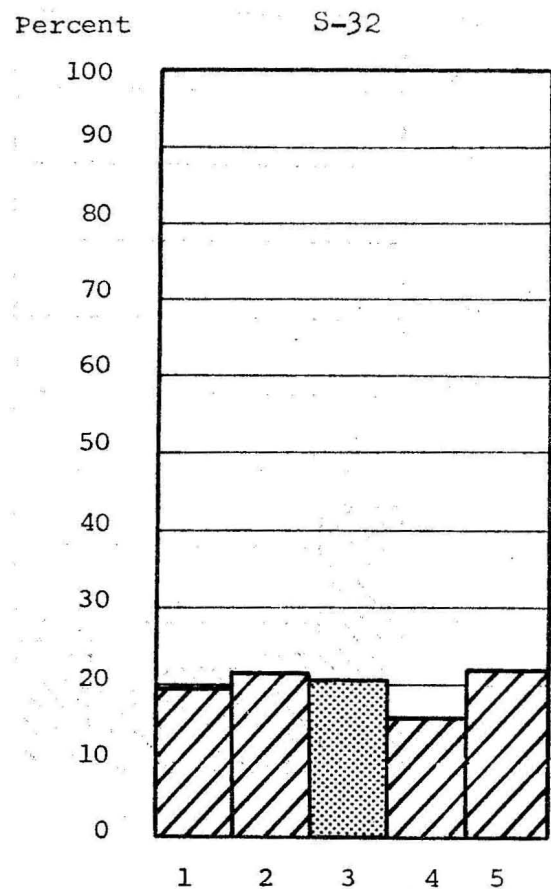
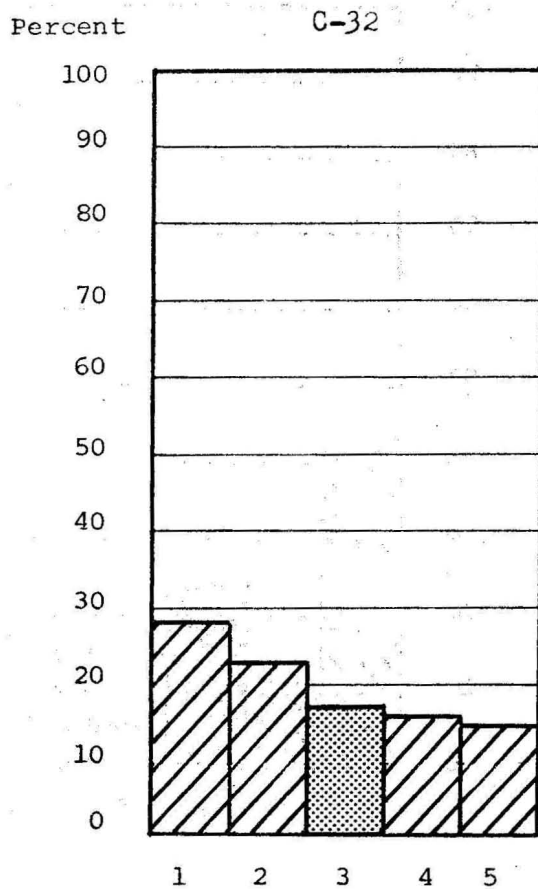
Item 30: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) appear undecided as to whether in a crisis situation--provided their parents are no longer living--they should turn for help to relatives of the same generation or to close friends.



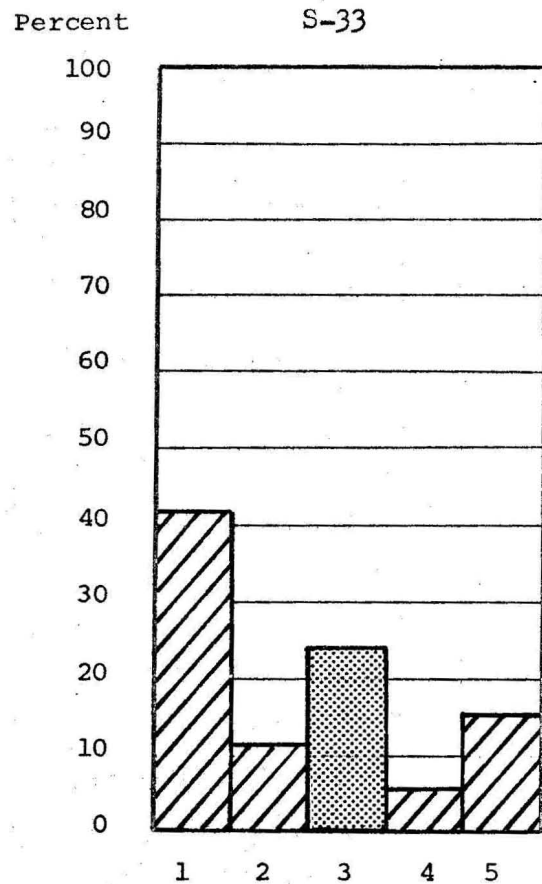
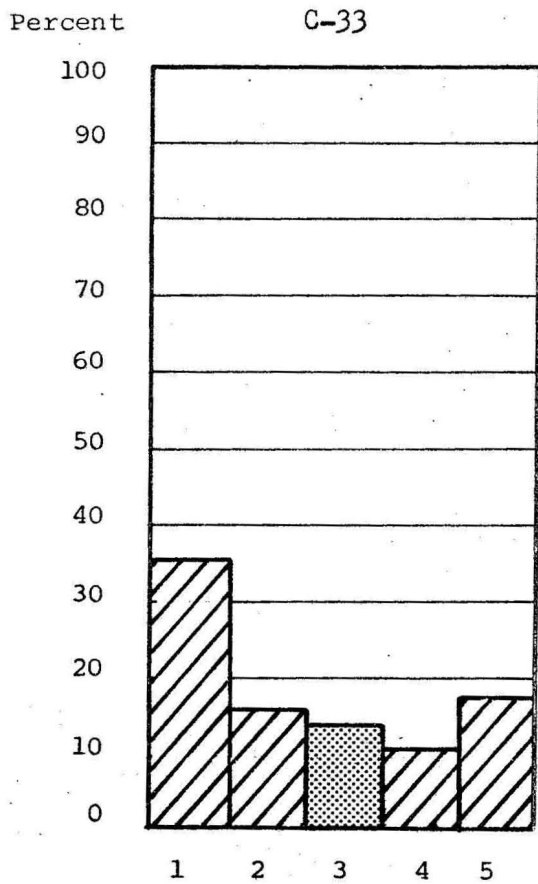
Item 31: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Czechs (C) more decidedly than the Slovaks (S) consider generosity to be a more highly valued personality trait than thriftiness.



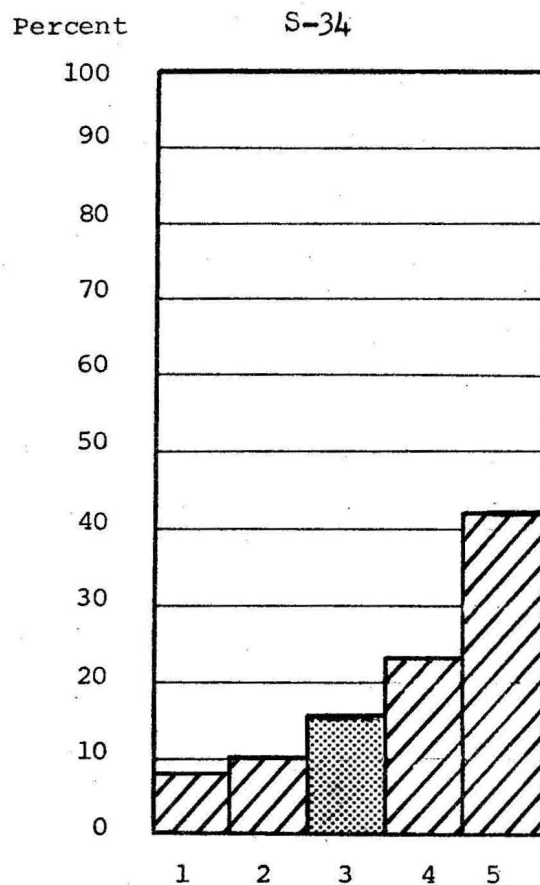
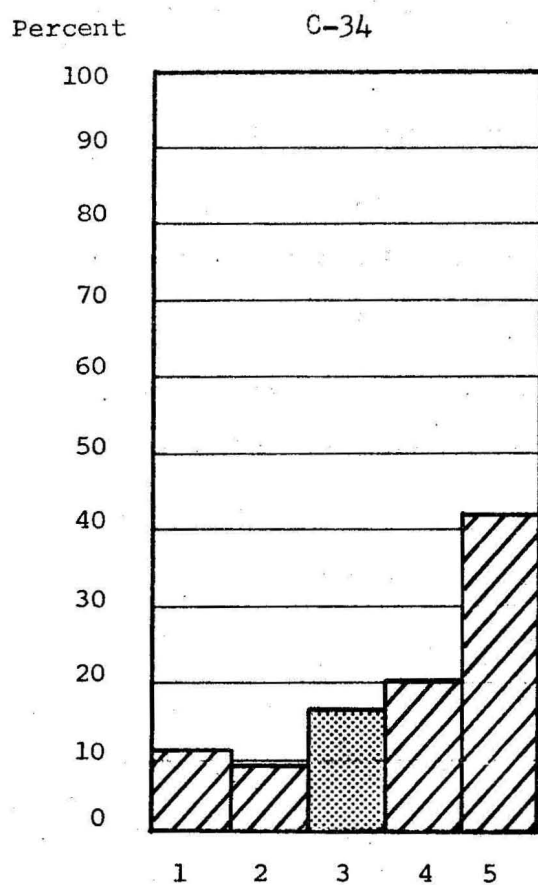
Item 32: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, the Slovaks (S) are undecided as to whether to view human nature with trust or with suspicion, while the Czechs (C) display a cautious optimism in the matter.



Item 33: To the extent shown in the value orientation profiles below, traditional religious belief predominates over a materialistic (scientific) outlook among both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S).



Item 34: As shown in the value orientation profiles below, both the Czechs (C) and the Slovaks (S) evidence a strong belief that a relaxed life-style can be cultivated and that the tense life-style increasingly found in modern societies need not be accepted.



3.4. There are a number of instances of diffused value orientations. In the context of this study, value orientation scatter with respect to individual items of the schedule occurs whenever the response frequency for Column 3 is greater than 13 percent and the sum of response frequencies for Columns 2 through 4 exceeds 51 percent.

For the Czechs, value orientation scatter is found with respect to Items 4, 7, 13, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, and 32.

For the Slovaks, value orientation scatter occurs with respect to Items 7, 19, 26, 27, 29, 30, and 32.

The agreement is rather striking, extending for both the Czechs and the Slovaks to Items 7, 19, 26, 29, 30, and 32.

Thus, as a whole, both the Czechs and the Slovaks of our sample do not show clear preference when choosing between an orderly and a spontaneous approach to doing things; are undecided as to whether humans are fundamentally good and hence worthy of trust, or evil and therefore suspect; vacillate between commitment to absolute ethical standards, and moral decisions reached ad hoc; are uncertain concerning the sources of differences in social status; and in a crisis situation seem just as prone to seek help from close friends as from relatives. In addition, the Czechs, in the context of a kin group, balance deference to an older generation with decisions made independently or in self-interest, and they tend to think of nature both as a partner and as a force to be conquered. For the Slovaks, criticism appears to hold a great deal of embarrassment, yet it also serves as an important key to improvement.

3.5. There are also some instances in which high values for response frequencies obtain at both extremes of a scale (i.e., in Columns 1 and 5). In the context of this study, bipolarity in value orientations with respect to individual items of the schedule occurs whenever the response frequency for both Column 1 and Column 5 exceeds 25 percent.

For the Czechs, bipolarity in value orientations is found with respect to Item 24; for the Slovaks, with respect to Items 2, 6, 13, and 31.

Thus, the Czechs as a whole are sharply divided between the being-in-becoming orientation and the doing orientation. This bipolarity is neatly confirmed by the responses to Item 3 (orientation toward doing is heavily favored over orientation toward being) and Item 18 (orientation toward being-in-becoming is heavily favored over orientation toward being).

The Slovaks as a whole are sharply divided when contemplating their relationships with nature or with other members of an interest group, as well as when deciding whether generosity or thriftiness is the more desirable personal attribute.

3.6. In this section, the available data on value orientations among the Czechs will be examined according to sex and age (18-24, 25-39, 40-59, 60 and above). (Overall value orientation profiles for the Czechs are found in Section 3.3.)

Item 1: Young Czechs, both males and females, tend to favor orientation toward the future (rather than toward the past) more than

do their elders. Thus, in Column 5, 60.53 percent of males between 25 and 39 compare with 41.67 percent of those 60 and above. For females, the corresponding figures are even farther apart: 77.08 percent of those between 25 and 39 but only 30.77 percent of those 60 and above distinctly favor orientation toward the future.

Item 2: While younger Czechs tend toward aspiring to control nature (in Columns 4 and 5 taken together, 81.58 percent of males and 64.58 percent of females between 25 and 39), older Czechs are ready to accept subjection to nature (in Column 1, 41.67 percent of males and 69.23 percent of females 60 and above).

Item 3: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 4: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 5: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 6: Individualism is most strongly represented among male Czechs between 25 and 39 (71.06 percent for Columns 1 and 2) and female Czechs between 40 and 59 (65.72 percent for Columns 1 and 2), lineality among Czechs 60 and above (in Column 5, 41.67 percent for males and 76.92 percent for females).

Item 7: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 8: Male Czechs 25 and above and female Czechs 40 and above decidedly prefer women to be in the home rather than at work beside the man; female Czechs between 18 and 39 are about evenly split in their preference.

Item 9: Czechs 60 and above tend to stress sustained parental authority in rearing children; younger Czechs place greater value

on the children's independence of spirit; female Czechs between 18 and 24 are about evenly split in their preference.

Item 10: Among male Czechs obligation toward humanity increases with age (from 47.37 percent for those between 18 and 24 to 75 percent for those 60 and above in Column 5). Among female Czechs, the humanistic bias is stronger in those below 40.

Item 11: Czechs 60 and above show strongest collateral (as against individualistic) orientation.

Item 12: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 13: Tendency toward attempting to master nature is strongest among male Czechs between 25 and 39 and female Czechs between 18 and 24. Harmony with nature is more eagerly sought by those 60 and above.

Item 14: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 15: In rearing children, there is a somewhat lesser emphasis on criticism among female Czechs than among male Czechs.

Item 16: Among both male and female Czechs preference toward lineality rather than collaterality increases with age.

Item 17: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 18: Female Czechs are somewhat less decidedly oriented toward being-in-becoming (rather than toward being) than are male Czechs.

Item 19: Among male Czechs between 18 and 24, 57.89 percent of responses fall in Column 3. There seems to be an increasing tendency with age to view human nature as good.

Item 20: Male Czechs and older female Czechs prefer an orderly approach to doing things, female Czechs between 18 and 39 tend toward creativeness and spontaneity.

Item 21: Czechs of both sexes between 40 and 59 favor orientation toward the future (rather than toward the present) more strongly than the other age groups.

Item 22: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 23: Among male Czechs, readiness to accept discipline imposed from without increases with age; this is not true of female Czechs who, particularly if they are older, favor discipline imposed from within.

Item 24: Preference for a being-in-becoming (rather than a doing) orientation increases with age among Czechs.

Item 25: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 26: Among male Czechs between 18 and 24, 57.89 percent of responses fall in Column 3. While belief in absolute ethical values (in preference to so-called situational ethics) increases with age, substantial numbers of subjects of both sexes and of all age groups are undecided.

Item 27: Among both male and female Czechs, the dislike of criticism--even if well meant--increases with age.

Item 28: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 29: Innate capability is thought by Czechs 60 and above to be more crucial than educational background in determining social status.

Item 30: In a crisis situation, female Czechs between 18 and 39 prefer to turn for help--provided their parents are no longer living--to close friends, those 40 and above to relatives of the same generation. Both young and old male Czechs in the same circumstances overwhelmingly prefer relatives of the same generation. Male Czechs between 25 and 59 are undecided.

Item 31: With increasing age, Czechs of both sexes tend to favor generosity less decidedly and to lean toward thriftiness as a valued personality trait.

Item 32: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

Item 33: Among female Czechs, traditional religious belief increases with age at the expense of a materialistic (scientific) outlook (figures for Column 1 are: 18-24, 21.21 percent; 25-39, 22.92 percent; 40-59, 57.14 percent; and 60 and above, 84.62 percent). Among male Czechs, those between 18 and 24 and those 60 and above are less materialistically inclined than the two age groups in between. A fairly high percentage of those between 25 and 39 are undecided (28.95 percent).

Item 34: No significant differences with respect to sex and age.

3.7. In Section 3.4, value orientation scatter was defined and found to be present for the Czechs in Items 4, 7, 13, 19, 20, 26, 29, 30, and 32, and for the Slovaks in Items 7, 19, 26, 27, 29, 30, and 32. In section 3.5, bipolarity in value orientations was defined and found to be present for the Czechs in Item 24 and for the Slovaks in Items 2, 6, 13, and 31. The mean value of all response frequencies for Column 3 (disagreement with either of the two statements of an item or a feeling of ambivalence) is 13.92 percent for the Czechs and 15.72 percent for the Slovaks. While one would wish to compare these figures with comparable figures from other cultures--which at present are not available--it is my tentative impression that the data indicate an ambivalence with respect to values. If this is so, one would no doubt look for causes of this ambivalence in the various socioeconomic and political changes which have enveloped Czechoslovakia since the fateful year of 1938.

Another noteworthy observation concerns the comparison of the Czechs and the Slovaks which heretofore has been subject to different impressionistic and intuitive judgments. In Section 3.2, identities, likenesses, similarities, and resemblances were defined and found to number three, four, four, and ten respectively. The mean value of the indices of dissimilarity for Items 1 through 34 is 11.86, indicating that only 11.86 percent of both Czechs and Slovaks would have to change their responses to achieve identity. No contrarieties (also defined in 3.2) have been established. Comparison of the Czechs and the Slovaks has thus been put on a more empirical basis and the two peoples found remarkably close in their respective

Appendix

The Czech Schedule 22

DOTAZNÍK B

Účelem tohoto dotazníku je zjistit, jak se různí lidé dívají na lidskou povahu, vztahy člověka k přírodě, k jiným lidem, na to, jak se člověk chová k světu kolem sebe, na jeho názory na výchovu dětí a na jiné podobné základní otázky.

K tomu účelu se dále uvádí řada tvrzení uspořádaných do dvojic; mezi oběma členy každé dvojice je pětistupňová stupnice.

Práce se stupnicemi.

Jestliže úplně souhlasíte s tvrzením buď na levé nebo na pravé straně, uděláte znamení takto:

tvrzení X:__:__:__ tvrzení

nebo

tvrzení __:__:__:X tvrzení

Jestliže sice nesouhlasíte úplně, ale kloníte se více k tvrzení na levé straně než k tvrzení na pravé či naopak, uděláte znamení takto:

tvrzení __:X:__:__:__ tvrzení

nebo

tvrzení __:__:__:X:__ tvrzení

Jestliže nesouhlasíte ani s jedním z obou tvrzení anebo jestliže souhlasíte s oběma a nevíte, kterému byste měl dát přednost, uděláte znamení na prostřední úsečku:

tvrzení __:__:X:__:__ tvrzení

DŮLEŽITÁ UPOZORNĚNÍ:

1. Dělejte znamení doprostřed úseček, ne mezi ně:

takto: ne takto:

tvrzení ↓:X:__:__ ↑:X:__:__ tvrzení

2. Vyjádřete znaméním své hodnocení každé dvojice tvrzení--nic nevynechte.

3. Na každou stupnici se odpovídá jen jedním znaméním.

Při hodnocení neodbíhejte k předešlým ani k následujícím dvojicím. Nerozpomínejte se, jak jste označili podobné stupnice dříve. Stupnici každé dvojice posuďte pečlivě zvlášť, nezávisle na ostatních. Je důležité, abyste uváděli své vlastní rozhodnutí a ne rozhodnutí svých přátel nebo to, které považuje za správné někdo jiný.

PŘÍKLADY

a. Nejlepší způsob jak využít volného času je přečíst si nějaký časopis nebo dobrou knížku anebo dívat se na televizi.

::_:_:

Nejlepší způsob jak využít volného času je provozovat aktivně nějaký sport.

b. Nejvhodnější jídla jsou ta, která mají jemnou, ne ostrou chuť.

::_:_:

Nejvhodnější jídla jsou pořádně okořeněná, s ostrou chutí.

c. Vyplnování dotazníků je obyčejně ztráta času; zjistí se jimi jen o málo víc než to, co se už dávno ví.

::_:_:

Mínění nějaké skupiny lidí lze nejlépe zjistit tak, že se jejím správně vybraným představitelům předloží dobře zvolené otázky; ovšem musí na ně odpovědět pečlivě a promyšleně.

1. Zvyklosti zděděné z minulosti se za dlouhá léta dobře osvědčily; jejich zachovávání dává pocit trvalosti lidské existence.

::_:_:

Pořád a ve všem bychom měli hledat nové a lepší způsoby jak co dělat a nespokojovat se s těmi způsoby, na které jsme si zvykli.

2. Lidé nikdy nedovedli ovládat déšť, vítr, povodně a jiné přírodní jevy a pravděpodobně to nikdy nebudou umět. Je třeba si zvyknout přijímat to, co přijde, a chovat se při tom tak, jak nejlépe dovedeme.

::_:_:

Jednou bude člověk umět ovládat počasí a jiné přírodní jevy. Až k tomu lidé budou mít prostředky, jistě budou moci zabránit pohromám, jako jsou sucha a povodně.

3. V životě je velmi důležité něco dokázat, pracovat a dočkat se výsledků svého snažení.

::_:_:

Je lépe využívat času k přemýšlení a k užívání života než k tomu, abychom si vytyčovali stále nové a nové cíle.

4. Obyčejně se předpokládá, že každá rodina (tj. muž, žena a děti, které dosud nemají vlastní rodinu) si hledí svých vlastních záležitostí a nestará se o ty příbuzné, kteří nepatří k tomuto rodinnému kruhu.

::_:_:

Od mladých manželů se obyčejně očekává, že se před důležitými rozhodnutími poradí se svými rodiči, pokud jsou ještě naživu.

5. Děti by neměly čekat, že se budou mít lépe než se měli jejich rodiče. Nejlépe udělají, když se smíří s tím, že všechno poběží beze změny tak jako v minulosti. —:—:—:— Děti by měly znát z minulosti to, co je užitečné i pro dnešek, ale musí se naučit i něčemu novému, aby mohly dosáhnout úspěchu v dnešním světě.
6. Když nějaká skupina lidí má poslat na nějaké jednání svého zástupce, pak nejlepší způsob jak ho vybrat je ten, že prodiskutují své problémy, navrhnou lidi ze svého středu, hlasují o nich a nakonec vyšlou toho, kdo dostane nejvíc hlasů. —:—:—:— Když nějaká skupina lidí má poslat na nějaké jednání svého zástupce, měli by ho vybrat starší, zkušení vůdci skupiny, kteří mohou nejlépe rozhodnout, koho vyslat.
7. Pravidla a řády jsou užitečné, protože umožňují hladké vyřizování záležitostí a hladký chod věcí. Kromě toho člověku, který se jimi řídí, dávají pocit, že postupuje správným směrem, a uspokojení. —:—:—:— Pravidla a řády člověku brání v tom, aby jednal tvůrčím způsobem a aby uplatnil své schopnosti. Proto přinášejí spíše zklamání než uspokojení.
8. I když někdy za zvláštních okolností je třeba, aby žena šla do zaměstnání a tak pomohla zvýšit životní úroveň své rodiny, pravé místo ženy je doma, při výchově dětí a při udržování pořádku domácnosti. —:—:—:— Místo ženy v dnešní společnosti je po boku muže--v průmyslu, obchodě, zemědělství a v jiných povoláních; výjimkou je ovšem období kolem narození dítěte.
9. Jednou z povinností rodičů je držet děti v patřičných mezích; jinak by děti brzy zneužily situace a dělaly by si, co by chtěly. —:—:—:— Všechny děti se někdy bouří proti autoritě rodičů. Neměli bychom se tím vzrušovat, protože tímto způsobem mladí lidé získávají duševní nezávislost.
10. Podobně jako jednotlivci dají se někdy i celé národy špatnou cestou. Člověk by však měl svou vlast plně podporovat i v takovém případě. —:—:—:— První povinnost člověka je lidskost; povinnost vůči vlasti je teprve na druhém místě.

11. Jestliže chceme zasáhnout do situace, která se týká nás i našich sousedů, je nej-
lépe předem se s nimi dohodnout. ___:___:___:___: Když někdo chce pro nějaký svůj plán získat podporu skupiny lidí, často ho to stojí velmi mnoho času a přinese mu to mnoho obtíží; proto je lépe pokusit se jednat nejdříve na vlastní pěst.
12. Když děti nemají úctu k minulosti a ke zvyklostem svých rodičů, je to se světem zlé. ___:___:___:___: Děti by měly být vedeny k tomu, aby hledaly nové a lepší způsoby jak co dělat. Neměly by se spokojovat se starými způsoby.
13. V rostlinné výrobě je nejlépe, když zemědělec plně využívá místních zkušeností s počasím a půdou; tak mu k získání dobré úrody napomáhá příroda. ___:___:___:___: Zemědělec by měl využít všech vědeckých metod, o kterých se může dozvědět. Pak by měl naději, že předejde působení nepříznivých přírodních podmínek.
14. Čistota a pořádek jsou naprosto nezbytné pro toho, kdo chce žít "správně". ___:___:___:___: To, zda člověk žije nebo nežije "správně", souvisí jen málo anebo vůbec nesouvisí s čistotou a pořádkem.
15. Kdo vychovává děti, musí je upozorňovat na všechny jejich nedostatky, aby si na ně mohly dávat pozor. Chválou bychom je asi vychovali k tomu, že by byly samy se sebou spokojené a nesnažily by se zdokonalovat. ___:___:___:___: Při výchově působí na děti nejlépe, když je chválíme při každé příležitosti; kárat se mají, jen když to je naprosto nezbytné.
16. Průmyslový podnik běží dobře tenkrát, když je řízen člověkem, jehož si všichni váží pro jeho dlouholeté zkušenosti. ___:___:___:___: Průmyslový podnik běží dobře tenkrát, když se všichni ti, kdo mají v podniku svůj vklad, podřídí rovnoprávně na všech důležitých rozhodnutích.
17. Když se ocitneme před nějakým neznámým problémem, je nejlépe pustit se do něho okamžitě a zvolený postup změnit teprve později, jestliže se ukáže, že je to nutné. ___:___:___:___: Když se ocitneme před nějakým neznámým problémem, je rozumné nejdříve uvažít, které z několika možných řešení je nejvhodnější.

18. Protože je v dnešním světě tak málo věcí jistých, měl by člověk nejvíce dbát na to, __:__:__:__ aby plně vychutnal každou minutu svého života. Nejdůležitější v životě je to, aby se člověk neustále rozvíjel. O to bychom se měli snažit ze všech sil, a to i za cenu, že se tím připravíme o některé okamžité požitky.
19. Lidé na celém světě jsou v podstatě dobří. Kdyby všichni měli slušné životní podmínky a dobré vzdělání, zavládl by všude trvalý mír a bratrství. __:__:__:__ Dějiny nás učí, že lidstvo nemůže dosáhnout trvalého bratrství a blaženosti. Několik málo jednotlivců sice vyniká svou nesobečností, ale lidstvo jako celek je odsouzeno k závistivosti a násilí.
20. V každé nové situaci je třeba nejdříve zjistit příslušná pravidla, aby se jimi člověk mohl řídit. __:__:__:__ V nové situaci člověk může být rád, když neví, jaké chování je za takových okolností obvyklé. Aspoň si může zvolit ten způsob jednání, který se mu zdá nejvhodnější.
21. Poněvadž minulost se už nevrátí a budoucnost je nejistá, nejlépe je soustředit se na přítomnost. __:__:__:__ Změny sice někdy přinášejí zhoršení, ale obvykle přinášejí nápravu. Proto se má člověk zaměřit na budoucnost, usilovně pracovat a vzdát se některých příjemných věcí, které by mohl mít dnes, ve prospěch lepší budoucnosti.
22. Vesmír je příliš složitý, a proto mu nemůžeme dobře rozumět. Člověk tedy musí přijímat všechno, co přijde. __:__:__:__ Vesmír je v podstatě uspořádaný a řídí se přírodními zákony. Člověk by se měl snažit tyto zákony objevit, aby mohl s přírodou spolupracovat.
23. Kázně je zapotřebí, ale měla by být dobrovolná a ne vynucená. __:__:__:__ Kázně je zapotřebí a protože většina lidí nemá dost sebekázně, musí jim kázeň ukládat někdo, kdo má moc a je rozumný.

24. Dobré zaměstnání je takové, které člověku poskytuje příležitost k všestrannému rozvoji, i když je třeba méně placené. ___:___:___:___ Dobré zaměstnání je takové, které je dobře placené a které zároveň člověku dává příležitost upozornit na své schopnosti a dosáhnout rychlého postupu.
25. V životě je nejdůležitější láska a duchovní hodnoty. ___:___:___:___ V životě jsou opravdu důležité jen praktické výsledky, rozumné užívání moci a nashromáždění tolika majetku, aby si člověk zajistil určitý blahobyt.
26. Hodnotám, které se v minulosti osvědčily a které jsme zdělili, můžeme důvěřovat. Proto bychom se měli především starat o zachování těchto hodnot. ___:___:___:___ S metodami a zvyklostmi je to těžké. Staré jsou překonané, nové jsou většinou nevyzkoušené. Proto je rozumné soustředit se na to, co se zdá nejvhodnější nám, a nestarat se o budoucnost.
27. Člověk nemá zahanbovat své bližní tím, že je kritizuje, a to ani tehdy, když jim chce pomoci. Mnohem lépe je působit na ně svým příkladem. ___:___:___:___ Lidé se obvykle snaží o zlepšení a rádi přijmou dobře míněnou kritiku.
28. V kritické situaci je nejlépe nedat najevo své osobní pocity (např. vzrušení, hněv). ___:___:___:___ V kritické situaci je dobré ulevit si tím, že dáme volný průchod svým osobním pocitům (např. vzrušení, hněvu).
29. Všichni lidé jsou v podstatě stejní. Rozdíly v jejich společenském postavení jsou způsobeny především rozdíly ve vzdělání. ___:___:___:___ Rozdíly ve společenském postavení vyplývají především z vrozených vlastností.
30. Když se mladí manželé (jejichž rodiče už nežijí) s několika dětmi ocitnou v kritické situaci, měli by se obrátit o pomoc k svým sourozencům nebo blízkým příbuzným své generace. ___:___:___:___ Mladí manželé (jejichž rodiče už nežijí) s několika dětmi by se v kritické situaci měli obrátit o pomoc především k svým důvěrným přátelům.

31. Když má člověk opravdu závažný důvod k oslavě nebo k tomu, aby projevil štědrost, mělo by se mu prominout, jestliže utratí víc, než je přiměřené. ____:____:____:____:____
Za žádných okolností se nemá člověk zadlužit tím, že by utratil víc, než je přiměřené.
32. Upřímnost je nakažlivá. Člověk se nej- snadněji s lidmi sprátelí a s každým dobře vyjde, když je zcela otevřený a upřímný. ____:____:____:____:____
Lidé jsou v podstatě závistiví, každý hledí jen na svůj vlastní prospěch. Proto je nejlépe, když se nikomu nesvěřujeme se svými záležitostmi.
33. Víra v boha a náboženské vyznání nejsou dnes o nic méně důležité než v minulosti. ____:____:____:____:____
Ve vyspělé společnosti s vědeckým názorem na člověka a vesmír je víra v boha pověřivostí.
34. Shon a tíha moderního života jsou tak silné, že člověka začínají dokonce připravovat o odpočinek a o duševní vyrovnanost. Je nutno se s tím smířit. ____:____:____:____:____
Nejlepší způsob, jak si zachovat zdravý rozum, je pěstovat smysl pro humor a nebrat věci příliš vážně.

Notes

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¹Among the pioneering modern attempts, adumbrating later studies, are, for example, Pitt-Rivers' characterization of the Australian aborigines (1927) and Mead's comparison of adolescent Samoan girls with their American counterparts (1928). Benedict's book Patterns of Culture has served ever since its appearance (1934) as a classical model for the configurational or holistic approach to the description of cultural character.

An informative survey of several of the approaches listed here may be found in the recent work by Honigmann (1967); for a general evaluation of national character studies, see Mead (1953) and Hsu (1969).

²Aside from the studies by Kluckhohn (1956) and Kluckhohn and Strodtbeck (1961), referred to subsequently in Section 2.B.2. of this paper, the value-system approach is discussed in Albert (1956) and Ayoub (1968).

³For an example of the second step, see Hoebel's treatment of Cheyenne culture (1960), and for a discussion of the postulational method, refer to Hsu (1969).

⁴This quotation and all of the following quotations of the section appear in my translation.

⁵The work referred to is Peroutka's Budování státu (4 volumes; Praha, 1933-1936), covering the years 1918 through 1921.

⁶On the subject of Slovak feelings of inferiority, see Polakovič (1940).

⁷Jurovský's study was based on his earlier article written in German and published under the name of Weiss-Nägel (1940).

⁸As the volume stands, the references to world view are limited to the following statements [my translation]:

Study of the world view of the Czech people is a very difficult task because it concerns a problem investigated by various scholarly disciplines. In ethnography, the concept of the world view has generally referred to the study of old, petrified, and tradition-bound superstitions, frequently surviving through many centuries and, consequently, through several social orders.

Ethnography has thus never concerned itself with the study of the historical dynamics of the world view of individual social strata or classes, but rather with an examination of a fixed complex of phenomena, which originated in the distant past and often managed to survive until the present in its specifically local or national form (p. 233).

The world view of the [Czech] people in the past was basically undifferentiated. The view of nature and family and social life was nearly identical even for the different classes or segments of the society....

During the period of feudalism, marked differences in the view of the society and its organization became evident, and certain segments of the society even acquired their own class goals. However, it appears from the available sources that features of the world view of the peasant and urban population remained virtually unchanged.

Substantial changes did not arise until the beginning of capitalism (p. 255).

⁹See also my recent review of this volume (Salzmann 1969).

¹⁰Some pretesting of the questionnaire was done with the help of several Czechs available on the campus of the University of Massachusetts during the spring of 1969.

¹¹Some of the added items were suggested by statements found in unpublished materials prepared by David Rodnick for the Human Relations Area Files (untitled and undated) concerning Czech patterns of living, assumptions about family life, social values, and so on. These materials were kindly made available to me by the author.

¹²I am indebted to staff members of the Institute for the Czech Language of the Czechoslovak Academy of Sciences (Prague) and the Ethnographic Institute of the Slovak Academy of Sciences (Bratislava) for editing the Czech and Slovak translations of the instrument. Their many helpful comments improved and smoothed out the translated versions.

¹³Thus, for example, Items 8, 13, 16 and a few others presuppose a society in which material production has assumed industrial proportions and the use of scientific methods in the cultivation of crops constitutes a practical option.

¹⁴In retrospect, the category of time orientation is necessarily

fraught with many different personal interpretations in a country such as Czechoslovakia, where the past is seen as multiply segmented (Austria-Hungary [-1918], [First] Czechoslovak Republic [1918-1938], [Second] Czechoslovak Republic [1938-1939], [German] Protectorate of Bohemia and Moravia and Slovak Republic [1939-1945], [Third] Czechoslovak Republic [1945-1948], and Communist-run Czechoslovak Socialist [1960-] Republic [1948-], with the so-called era of Dubček during 1968), and both the present and future are clouded with uncertainties.

¹⁵ A check on the reliability of the instrument and also on the subjects' seriousness of performance has been built into the questionnaire by having two sets of propositions, Items 1 and 7, reappear later in the schedule in paraphrases as Items 12 and 20.

With the exception of response frequencies of the Slovaks to Items 7 and 20, the correlations are gratifyingly high:

Item No.		Response Frequencies (Percentages)				
		1	2	3	4	5
1	C	4.13	4.55	13.22	16.12	59.50
12	C	7.85	4.13	12.81	23.14	50.83
1	S	17.20	5.10	12.74	17.20	47.13
12	S	18.47	6.37	15.29	17.83	42.04
7	C	21.07	18.60	23.97	18.18	17.36
20	C	22.73	25.21	13.64	19.42	18.60
7	S	15.29	13.38	28.66	11.46	30.57
20	S	36.31	15.92	21.02	10.19	16.56

¹⁶ The being-in-becoming orientation lays stress on activity which strives to develop all aspects of the self as an integrated whole.

¹⁷These three points deal with the nature of man's relation to other men: lineality emphasizes biological or cultural relationships defined by the relative age of individuals (e.g., child-parent or child-grandparent relationships); collaterality stresses laterally extended (e.g., siblinglike) relationships; and individualism rests on the relative autonomy of an individual's roles and goals.

¹⁸The statistical data for Czechoslovakia as a whole and for the Czech Socialist Republic and the Slovak Socialist Republic are based on the 1967 figures for population above 18 years of age and on estimates for 1968. These data were kindly supplied to me by the Ústav pro výzkum veřejného mínění ČSAV in Prague. Less recent, but more detailed, data may be found in Srb (1967).

¹⁹This index is computed by dividing by two the sum of the absolute differences between the five respective response frequencies for the Czechs and the Slovaks. The index may range between 0 (identity) and 100 (total dissimilarity); an index of 25, for example, denotes that 25 percent of both Czechs and Slovaks would have to change their responses to achieve identity.

²⁰Thus, to illustrate with extreme cases, an index of 4.50 has been computed for Item 17, which falls within the category of likenesses; an index of 3.37 for Item 34, which falls within the category of similarities; and an index of 4.10 for Item 29, which falls within the category of resemblances.

²¹Consider, for example, the following two hypothetical cases (A and B) of response frequencies distribution, both yielding an

index of dissimilarity of 15:

A:	15	25	35	25	0
	0	25	35	25	15

B:	55	20	15	5	5
	50	15	30	3	2

²²Because the Czech and the Slovak languages are closely similar, only the Czech version of Questionnaire B is reproduced here by way of example.

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